——Resoluta catenis
Incedit Virgo, pretiumq; & causa laboris.
Ovid. Metam. l. 4.

——Resoluta catenis
Incedit Virgo, pretiumq; & causa laboris.
Ovid. Metam. l. 4.

A BRIEF

VIEW and SURVEY

OF THE

Dangerous and pernicious ERRORS

TO

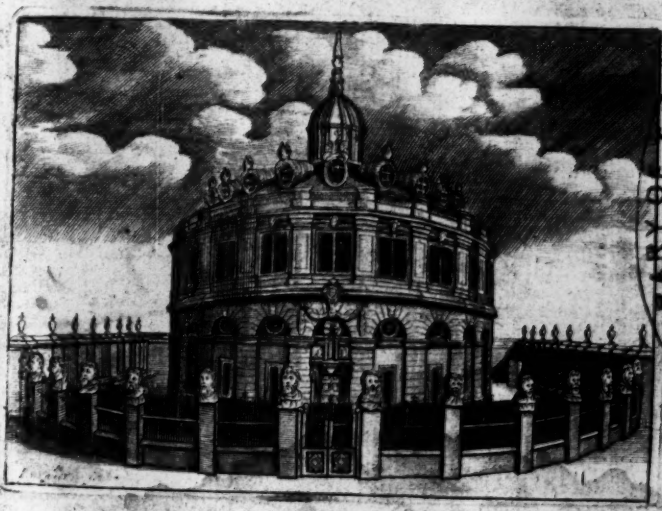
CHURCH and STATE,

In Mr. *HOBBES*'S BOOK,

Entitled

LEVIATHAN.

By *EDWARD* Earl of *Clarendon.*



LIBRARY OF THE
NORTH
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

Printed at the *THEATER.* 1676.

IMPRIMATUR

RAD. BATHURST

July 1.
1676.

Vice-Can. Oxon.

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

JAN 28 1948

19 x 14 cm
(8) 322p. 1pl.

McAlpin
1670
C 591
cop. 2

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTY

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

T is one of the falſe and evil Doctrines which Mr. *Hobbes* hath publiſh'd in his *Leviathan*, (p. 114.) *That a baniſhed Subject, during the Baniſhment, is not a Subject. And* (pag. 165.) *that a baniſh'd man is a lawful Enemy of the Common-wealth that baniſh'd him, as being no more a member of the ſame.* I thank God, from the time that I found my ſelf under the inſupportable burden of Your Maje-

ſties diſpleaſure, and under the infamous brand of Baniſhment, I have not thought my ſelf one minute abſolv'd in the leaſt degree from the obligation of the ſtricteſt duty to your Perſon, and of the higheſt gratitude that the moſt oblig'd Servant can ſtand bound in, or from the affection that a true and faithful Engliſhman ſtill ow's, and muſt ſtill pay to his Country. And as I have every day ſince praied for the ſafety of your Perſon, and the proſperity of your Affairs, with the ſame devotion and integrity as for the ſalvation of my own Soul; ſo I have exercis'd my thoughts in nothing ſo much, as how to ſpend my time in doing ſomwhat that may prove for Your Majeſties Service and Honor. And therefore aſſoon as I had finiſhed (as far as I am able, without the ſupply of thoſe Memorials and Records which are fit to be enquired into) a work at leaſt recommended, if not enjoin'd, to me by your Bleſſed Father, and approv'd, and in ſome degree perus'd by Your Majeſty, (which I hope will be to the Honor of His Majeſties memory, and your own magnanimous Sufferings) I could not think of any thing in my power to perform of more

more importance to your Majeſties ſervice, then to anſwer Mr. *Hobbes*'s *Leviathan*, and confute the doctrine therein contain'd, ſo pernicious to the Soveraign Power of Kings, and deſtructive to the affection and allegiance of Subjects; notwithſtanding which, by the protection the Author hath from the Act of Indemnity, and I know not what other connivance, it is manifeſt enough, that many odious Opinions, the ſeed whereof was firſt ſowed in that Book, have bin ſince propagated, to the extreme ſcandal of the Government in Church and State. I have often heretofore, when I had liberty for that preſumtion, advertis'd Your Majeſty, of the wickedneſs of very many of the Principles upon which that whole Book is ſupported, and was not without ſome hope of prevailing with Your Majeſty to give your Self the leiſure, and the trouble, to peruſe and examine ſome parts of it, in confidence that they would no ſooner be read, then deteſted by you; whereas the frequent reciting of looſe and disjointed Sentences, and bold Inferences, for the novelty and pleaſantneſs of the Expreſſions, the reputation of the Gentleman for parts and Learning, with

with his confidence in Converſation, and eſpecially the humor and inclination of the Time to all kind of Paradoxes, have too much prevail'd with many of great Wit and Faculties, without reading the context, or obſervation of the conſequences, to believe his Propoſitions to be more innocent, or leſs miſchievous, then upon a more deliberate peruſal they will find them to be; and the love of his perſon and company, have rendred the iniquity of his Principles leſs diſcernible. Mr. *Hobbes* conſulted too few Authors, and made uſe of too few Books; the benefit of which my preſent condition has alſo depriv'd me of; altho the want which I complain moſt of, is of Friends to examine and controul, upon the reading any impropriety or indecency in my Expreſſions, or defect of vigor in my Ratiocination; towards the weighing whereof I have had little contribution. However, I preſume to think, that the antidote, how weak ſpirited ſoever, is ſeaſonable to be adminiſtred, to expel or allay the poiſon that is ſtill working very furiouſly. And if I know any thing of the conſtitution of the Government of *England*, and of the nature and temper of that faithful

faithful Nation, the publiſhing of this poor Diſcourſe may be of ſome uſe and ſervice to your Majeſty; that all the World may know, how much you abhor all thoſe extravagant and abſurd Privileges, which no Chriſtian Prince ever enjoied or affected. The conſideration of this only, hath diſpos'd me to expoſe my ſelf to the licence of the Tongues and Pens of all thoſe, who will never be without inclinations rather to inſult upon my Fortune, and to reproch my Perſon, then to pity my Weakneſs, or rectifie my Underſtanding. If the prefixing your Majeſties Name before it, as if you would countenance ſo diſgraced and degraded a Perſon, or give any Protection to a Work of which he is the Author, doth not find your Majeſties approbation; I have appointed that preſumtion to be declin'd, being ſtedfaſtly reſolv'd, by Gods Bleſſing, never to diſpleaſe You whil'ſt I live, or after I am dead; and retaining ſtill a hope, with ſome confidence (which ſuſtains my weak decaied Spirits) that your Majeſty will at ſome time call to your remembrance, my long and incorrupted Fidelity to your Perſon, and your Service; and that tho

I am

I am for the preſent depriv'd of that moſt valued and precious Relation, your Majeſty will not be offended, that I aſſume the title of being

YOUR MAJESTIES

Moſt faithful and obedient Subject,

Moulins,
May 10. 1673.

and one of the oldeſt Servants that is now living, to your Father and your Self,

Clarendon.

A Survey of Mr Hobbes *his* Leviathan.

The INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE alwaies thought it a great excess in those who take upon them to answer other Mens Writings, to hold themselves oblig'd to find fault with every thing that they say; and to answer every clause, period, and proposition which he, to whom they have made themselves an adversary, hath laid down; by which, besides the voluminousness that it produces, which in it self is grievous to any Reader, they cannot but be guilty of many impertinences; and expose themselves to the just censures of others, and to the advantage of their Antagonists; since there are few Books which do not contain many things which are true, and cannot, or need not be contradicted. And considering withall, that those

Books have in all times don moſt miſchief, and ſcatter'd abroad the moſt pernicious errors, in which the Authors, by the Ornament of their Style, and the pleaſantneſs of their method, and ſubtlety of their Wit, have from ſpecious premiſes, drawn their unskilful and unwary Readers into unwarrantable opinions and concluſions, being intoxicated with terms and Allegorical expreſſions, which puzzel their underſtandings, and lead them into perplexities, from whence they cannot diſentangle themſelves; I have propoſed to my ſelf, to make ſome Animadverſions upon ſuch particulars, as may in my judgment produce much miſchief in the World, in a Book of great Name, and which is entertain'd and celebrated (at leaſt enough) in the World; a Book which contains in it good learning of all kinds, politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly diſgeſted, in a very commendable method, and in a vigorous and pleaſant Style: which hath prevailed over too many, to ſwallow many new tenets as maximes without chewing; which manner of diet for the indiſgeſtion Mr *Hobbes* himſelf doth much diſlike. The thorough novelty (to which the preſent age, if ever any, is too much inclin'd) of the work receives great credit and authority from the known Name of the Author, a Man of excellent parts, of great wit, ſome reading, and ſomewhat more thinking; One who ha's ſpent many years in forreign parts and obſervation, underſtands the Learned as well as modern Languages, hath long had the reputation of a great Philoſopher and Mathematician, and in his age hath had converſation with very many worthy and extraordinary Men,

to which, it may be, if he had bin more indulgent in the more vigorous part of his life, it might have had a greater influence upon the temper of his mind, whereas age ſeldom ſubmits to thoſe queſtions, enquiries, and contradictions, which the Laws and liberty of converſation require: and it hath bin alwaies a lamentation amongſt Mr *Hobbes* his Friends, that he ſpent too much time in thinking, and too little in exerciſing thoſe thoughts in the company of other Men of the ſame, or of as good faculties; for want whereof his natural conſtitution, with age, contracted ſuch a moroſity, that doubting and contradicting Men were never grateful to him. In a word, Mr *Hobbes* is one of the moſt antient acquaintance I have in the World, and of whom I have alwaies had a great eſteem, as a Man who beſides his eminent parts of Learning and knowledg, hath bin alwaies looked upon as a Man of Probity, and a life free from ſcandal; and it may be there are few Men now alive, who have bin longer known to him then I have bin in a fair and friendly converſation and ſociableneſs; and I had the honor to introduce thoſe, in whoſe perfections he ſeemed to take much delight, and whoſe memory he ſeems moſt to extol, firſt into his acquaintance. In all which reſpects, both of the Author and the work, it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that any vanity hath tranſported me, who know my ſelf ſo incompetent for the full diſquiſition of this whole work, which contains in it many parts of knowledg and Learning in which I am not converſant; and alſo the diſadvantage, that ſo many years have paſſed ſince the publication of this Book, without any thing like an an-

ſwer to the moſt miſchievous parts of it as to Civil Goverment, at leaſt I had ſeen none ſuch, till after I had finiſhed this diſcourſe, which was at *Montpelier* in the moneth of April One thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy, where I wanted many of thoſe Books which had bin neceſſary to have bin carefully conſulted and peruſed, if I had propos'd to my ſelf to have anſwer'd many of thoſe Scholaſtic points, which ſeem to me enough expos'd to juſt cenſure and reproch, and which I did ſuppoſe ſome Univerſity Men would have taken occaſion from, to have vindicated thoſe venerable Nurſeries from that vice and ignorance, his ſuperciliouſneſs hath thought fit to aſperſe them with. I do confeſs ſince that time I have read ſeveral anſwers and reflexions, made by Learned Men of both the Univerſities, in Engliſh and in Latine upon his *Leviathan*, or his other works publiſhed before and after; which ſeveral anſwers (though they have very pregnantly diſcover'd many groſs errors, and groſſer overſights in thoſe parts of Science in which Mr *Hobbes* would be thought to excel, which are like to put him more out of countenance then any thing I can urge againſt him, by how much he values himſelf more upon being thought a good Philoſopher, and a good Geometrician, then a modeſt Man, or a good Chriſtian) have not ſo far diſcouraged me, as to cauſe me either to beleive what I had thought of and prepared before, to be the leſs pertinent to be communicated, or at all to inlarge, or contract my former conceptions (though probably many things which I offer are more vigorouſly urg'd, and expreſſed in ſome of the other anſwers)

Notwithstanding all which, his Person is by many received with respect, and his Books continue still to be esteem'd, as well abroad as at home: which might very well have prevail'd, with those before mention'd arguments, to have diverted me from pretending to see farther into them then other Men had don, and to discover a malignity undiscerned that should make them odious. But then how prevalent soever these motives were with me; when I reflected upon the most mischievous Principles, and most destructive to the Peace both of Church and State, which are scatter'd throughout that Book of his *Leviathan*, (which I only take upon me to discover) and the unhappy impression they have made in the minds of too many; I thought my self the more oblig'd, and not the less competent for those animadversions, by the part I had acted for many years in the public administration of Justice, and in the Policy of the Kingdom. And the leasure to which God hath condemn'd me, seems an invitation, and obligation upon me, to give a testimony to the World, that my duty and affection for my King and Country, is not less then it hath ever bin, when it was better interpreted; by giving warning to both, of the danger they are in by the seditious Principles of this Book, that they may in time provide for their Security by their aboliſhing and extirpating those, and the like excesses. And as it could not reasonably be expected, that such a Book would be answer'd in the time when it was publish'd, which had bin to have disputed with a Man that commanded thirty Legions, (for *Cromwel* had bin oblig'd to have supported him, who defended his Usurpation;) so

after-

afterwards Men thought it would be too much ill nature to call Men in queſtion for what they had ſaid in ill times, and for ſaying which they had a plenary Indulgence and Abſolution. And I am ſtill of opinion, that even of thoſe who have read his Book, and not frequented his Company, there are many, who being delighted with ſome new notions, and the pleaſant and clear Style throughout the Book, have not taken notice of thoſe down-right Concluſions, which overthrow or undermine all thoſe Principles of Goverment, which have preſerv'd the Peace of this Kingdom through ſo many ages, even from the time of its firſt Inſtitution; or reſtor'd it to Peace, when it had at ſome times bin interrupted: and much leſs of thoſe odious inſinuations, and perverting ſome texts of Scripture, which do diſhonor, and would deſtroy the very Eſſence of the Religion of Chriſt. And when I called to mind the good acquaintance that had bin between us, and what I had ſaid to many who I knew had inform'd him of it, and which indeed I had ſent to himſelf upon the firſt publiſhing of his *Leviathan*, I thought my ſelf even bound to give him ſome ſatisfaction why I had entertained ſo evil an opinion of his Book.

When the Prince went firſt to *Paris* from *Jerſey*, and My Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* ſtayed in *Jerſey* together with my ſelf, I heard ſhortly after, that Mr *Hobbes* who was then at *Paris*, had Printed his Book *De Cive* there. I writ to Dr *Earles*, who was then the Princes Chaplain, and his Tutor, to remember me kindly to Mr *Hobbes* with whom I was well acquainted, and to deſire him to ſend me his Book *De Cive*, by the ſame token that

Sid.

Sid. Godolphin (who had bin kill'd in the late Warr) had left him a Legacy of two hundred pounds. The Book was immediately ſent to me by Mr *Hobbes*, with a deſire that I would tell him, whether I was ſure that there was ſuch a Legacy, and how he might take notice of it to receive it. I ſent him word that he might depend upon it for a truth, and that I believed that if he found ſome way ſecretly (to the end there might be no public notice of it in regard of the Parliament) to demand it of his Brother *Francis Godolphin*, (who in truth had told me of it) he would pay it. This information was the ground of the Dedication of this Book to him, whom Mr *Hobbes* had never ſeen.

When I went ſome years after from *Holland* with the King (after the Murther of his Father) to *Paris*, from whence I went ſhortly his Majeſties Ambaſſador into *Spaine*, Mr *Hobbes* viſited me, and told me that Mr *Godolphin* confeſſed the Legacy, and had paid him one hundred pounds, and promiſed to pay the other in a ſhort time; for all which he thankt me, and ſaid he owed it to me, for he had never otherwiſe known of it. When I return'd from *Spaine* by *Paris* he frequently came to me, and told me his Book (which he would call *Leviathan*) was then Printing in *England*, and that he receiv'd every week a Sheet to correct, of which he ſhewed me one or two Sheets; and thought it would be finiſhed within little more then a Moneth; and ſhewed me the Epiſtle to Mr *Godolphin* which he meant to ſet before it, and read it to me, and concluded, that he knew when I read his Book I would not like it, and thereupon mention'd ſome of his Concluſions; upon which I asked him, why

he

he would publiſh ſuch doctrine: to which, after a diſcourſe between jeſt and earneſt upon the ſubject, he ſaid, *The truth is, I have a mind to go home.*

Within a very ſhort time after I came into *Flanders*, which was not much more then a Moneth from the time that Mr *Hobbes* had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was ſent to me from *London*; which I read with much appetite and impatience. Yet I had ſcarce finiſh'd it, when Sr *Charles Cavendish* (the noble Brother of the Duke of *Newcaſtle* who was then at *Antwerp*, and a Gentleman of all the accompliſhments of mind that he wanted of body, being in all other reſpects a wonderful Perſon) ſhewed me a Letter he had then receiv'd from Mr *Hobbes*, in which he deſir'd he would let him know freely what my opinion was of his Book. Upon which I wiſhed he would tell him, that I could not enough wonder, that a Man, who had ſo great a reverence for Civil Goverment, that he reſolv'd all Wiſdom and Religion it ſelf into a ſimple obedience and ſubmiſſion to it, ſhould publiſh a Book, for which, by the conſtitution of any Goverment now eſtabliſh'd in Europe, whether Monarchical or Democratical, the Author muſt be puniſh'd in the higheſt degree, and with the moſt levere penalties. With which anſwer (which Sr *Charles* ſent to him) he was not pleaſed; and found afterwards when I return'd to the King to *Paris*, that I very much cenſur'd his Book, which he had preſented, engroſs'd in *Vellam* in a marvellous fair hand, to the King; and likewiſe found my judgment ſo far confirmed, that few daies before I came thither, he was compell'd ſecretly to fly

out

out of *Paris*, the Juſtice having endeavour'd to apprehend him, and ſoon after eſcap'd into *England*, where he never receiv'd any diſturbance. After the Kings return he came frequently to the Court, where he had too many Diſciples; and once viſited me. I receiv'd him very kindly, and invited him to ſee me often; but he heard from ſo many hands that I had no good opinion of his Book, that he came to me only that one time: and methinks I am in a degree indebted to him, to let him know ſome reaſon why I look with ſo much prejudice upon his Book, which hath gotten him ſo much credit and eſtimation with ſome other men.

I am not without ſome doubt, that I ſhall in this diſcourſe, which I am now ingaged in, tranſgreſs in a way I do very heartily diſlike, and frequently cenſure in others, which is Sharpneſs of Language, and too much reproching the Perſon againſt whom I write; which is by no means warrantable, when it can be poſſibly avoided without wronging the truth in debate. Yet I hope nothing hath fallen from my Pen, which implies the leaſt undervaluing of Mr. *Hobbes* his Perſon, or his Parts. But if he, to advance his opinion in Policy, too imperiouſly reproches all men who do not conſent to his Doctrine, it can hardly be avoided, to reprehend ſo great preſumtion, and to make his Doctrines appear as odious, as they ought to be eſteemed: and when he ſhakes the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, by his new and bold Interpretations of Scripture, a man can hardly avoid ſaying, He hath no Religion, or that He is no good Chriſtian; and eſcape endeavouring to ma-

 niſeſt

nifeſt, and expoſe the poiſon that lies hid and conceled. Yet I have choſen, rather to paſs by many of his enormous ſayings with light expreſſions, to make his Aſſertions ridiculous, then to make his Perſon odious, for infuſing ſuch deſtructive Doctrine into the minds of men, who are already too licentious in judging the Precepts, or obſerving the Practice of Chriſtianity.

The

The Survey of Mr. Hobbes's *Introduction.*

IT is no wonder that Mr *Hobbes* runs into ſo many miſtakes and errors throughout his whole diſcourſe of the nature of Government from the nature of Mankind, when he laies ſo wrong a foundation in the very entrance and Introduction of his Book, as to make a judgment of the Paſſions, and Nature of all other Men by his own obſervations of Himſelf; and believes, (Pag. 1.) *that by looking into himſelf, and conſidering what he doth when he do's think, opine, reaſon, hope, fear, &c. and upon what grounds*, he ſhall thereby read, and know what are the thoughts and paſſions of all other men upon the like occaſions. And indeed by his diſtinction in the very ſubſequent words (Pag. 2.) between *the ſimilitude of paſſions, and the ſimilitude of the object of the paſſions*, and his confeſſion, that *the conſtitution individual and particular education* do make ſo great a difference and diſparity, he reduces that general Propoſition to ſignify ſo very little, that he leaves very little to be obſerved, and very few Perſons competent to obſerve. We have too much cauſe to believe, that much the major part of mankind do not think at all, are not endued with reaſon enough too opine, or think of what they did laſt, or what they are to do next, have no reflexion, without which there can be no thinking to this purpoſe: and the number is much greater of thoſe who know not how to comprehend *the diſſimilitude of the objects from the paſſi-*

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

ons, nor enough understand the nature of fear, as it is distinguish'd from the object that is fear'd: so that none of these Persons (which constitute a vast number,) are capable to make that observation, which must produce that knowledg which may enable them to judg of all the World. And how many there are left, who are fit from their *individual constitutions* or *particular educations*, and notwithstanding the corruption introduced *by dissembling, lying, counterfeiting, and erroneous Doctrine*, to make that judgment, I leave to Mr. *Hobbes* to determine. And tis probable, that those very few may conclude, that what they do *when they think, opine, reason, hope, fear*, contributes very little to their knowing *what the thoughts and passions of other men are*. And they may the rather be induced to make that conclusion, since there are so very few who think and opine as Mr. *Hobbes* doth, and whose hopes and fears are like his, with reference to the objects, or the nature it self of those passions; and that the dissimilitude is greater between the passions themselves, then between the objects; and that men are not more unlike each other in their faces, or in their clothes, then in their thinking, hoping, and fearing. Since then Mr. *Hobbes* founds so much of his whole Discourse upon the Verity and Evidence of this first Proposition, that we shall very often have occasion to resort to it as we keep him company; and since the same seems to me to be very far from being *the true Key to open the cipher of other mens thoughts*: it will not be amiss to examine, and insist a little longer on this Conclusion, that we may discern whether all, or any of us are endued with such an infallible Faculty, that we can conclude

clude what the thoughts and paſſions of other men are, by a ſtrict obſervation and conſideration of our own thoughts and paſſions; which would very much enable us to countermine and diſappoint each others thoughts and paſſions, and would be a high point of wiſdom. In the diſquiſition whereof, that we may not intangle the paſſion and the object together, for want of skill to ſever them, it may not be amiſs to ſuppoſe the ſame paſſion to be in two ſeveral men whoſe paſſions have the ſame object, and then conſider whether they are like to diſcover each others thoughts and paſſions, their hopes and their fears, by each mans looking into himſelf, and conſidering what he do's when he thinks, hopes, or fears. If Mr. *Hobbes* loved, to as great a height as his paſſion can riſe to, the ſame object that is likewiſe loved by another, he would hardly be able to make any judgment of the others love by his own; but upon a mutual confeſſion and communication, their paſſions would be found not to be the ſame. If Mr. *Hobbes*, and ſome other man were both condemn'd to death, (which is the moſt formidable thing Mr. *Hobbes* can conceive) the other could no more by looking into himſelf know Mr. *Hobbes*'s preſent thoughts, and the extent of his fear, then he could, by looking in his face, know what he hath in his Pocket. Not only the ſeveral complexions, and conſtitutions of the body, the different educations, and climates diſpoſe the affections and paſſions of men to different objects, but have a great influence upon the paſſions themſelves. As the fears, ſo the hopes of Men are as unlike as their gate, and meen. If a Sanguine, and a Melancholic man hope the ſame thing, their

hopes

hopes are no more alike each others, then their complexions are; the hope of the one retaining ſtill ſomwhat like deſpair, whilſt the hope of the other looks like fruition: ſo little ſimilitude there is in the paſſions themſelves without any relation to their objects. That a man of great courage, and a very cowardly man have not the ſame countenance, and preſence of mind in an approch of danger, proceeds not from the ones liking to be killed more then the others, but rather from the difference of their natural Courage. But let us ſuppoſe a man of courage, and a coward equally guilty, or equally innocent (that there may be no difference from the operation of conſcience) to be brought to die together by a judgment which they cannot avoid, and ſo to be equally without hope of life (and death in Mr *Hobbes*'s judgment is equally terrible to all, and with equal care to be avoided, or reſiſted,) How comes it to paſs, that one of theſe undergo's death with no other concernment then as if he were going any other Journy, and the other with ſuch confuſion and trembling, that he is even without life before he dies; if it were true that all Men fear alike upon the like occaſion? There will be the ſame uncertainty in concluding what others do, by obſerving what we our ſelves do, when we think, opine, or reaſon. How ſhall that man, who thinks deliberately, opines modeſtly, aud reaſons diſpaſſionately, and by this excellent temper ſatisfies his own judgment in a concluſion, in which at the ſame time he diſcerns others may differ from him: I ſay, How ſhall ſuch a man by his own way of reaſoning judg another mans, who uſually thinks precipitately, opines arrogantly, and reaſons ſuperciliouſly, and concludes

concludes imperiouſly that man to be miſtaken, who determines otherwiſe then he do's? To conclude, Mr *Hobbes* might as naturally have introduced his unreaſonable Doctrine of the ſimilitude of the paſſions, from the wiſdom that he ſaies is acquired by the reading of men, as from his method of reading ones ſelf. That ſaying of *Noſce teipſum*, in the ſenſe of *Solon* who preſcribed it, was a ſober truth, but was never intended as an expedient to diſcover the ſimilitude of the thoughts of other men by what he found in himſelf, but as the beſt means to ſuppreſs and deſtroy that pride and ſelf-conceit, which might temt him to undervalue other men, and to plant that modeſty and humility in himſelf, as would preſerve him from ſuch preſumtion.

ons, nor enough understand the nature of fear, as it is distinguish'd from the object that is fear'd: so that none of these Persons (which constitute a vast number,) are capable to make that observation, which must produce that knowledg which may enable them to judg of all the World. And how many there are left, who are fit from their *individual constitutions* or *particular educations*, and notwithstanding the corruption introduced *by dissembling, lying, counterfeiting, and erroneous Doctrine*, to make that judgment, I leave to Mr. *Hobbes* to determine. And tis probable, that those very few may conclude, that what they do *when they think, Hopine, reason, hope, fear*, contributes very little to their knowing *what the thoughts and passions of other men are*. And they may the rather be induced to make that conclusion, since there are so very few who think and opine as Mr. *Hobbes* doth, and whose hopes and fears are like his, with reference to the objects, or the nature it self of those passions, and that the dissimilitude is greater between the passions themselves, then between the objects, and that men are not more unlike each other in their faces, or in their clothes, then in their thinking, hoping, and fearing. Since then Mr. *Hobbes* founds so much of his whole Discourse upon the Verity and Evidence of this first Propositon, that we shall very often have occasion to resort to it as we keep him company, and since the same seems to me to be very far from being *the true Key to open the cipher of other mens thoughts*: it will not be amiss to examine, and insist a little longer on this Conclusion, that we may discern whether all, or any of us are endued with such an infallible Faculty, that we can conclude

clude what the thoughts and paſſions of other men are, by a ſtrict obſervation and conſideration of our own thoughts and paſſions; which would very much enable us to countermine and diſappoint each others thoughts and paſſions, and would be a high point of wiſdom. In the diſquiſition whereof, that we may not intangle the paſſion and the object together, for want of skill to ſever them, it may not be amiſs to ſuppoſe the ſame paſſion to be in two ſeveral men whoſe paſſions have the ſame object, and then conſider whether they are like to diſcover each others thoughts and paſſions, their hopes and their fears, by each mans looking into himſelf, and conſidering what he do's when he thinks, hopes, or fears. If Mr. *Hobbes* loved, to as great a height as his paſſion can riſe to, the ſame object that is likewiſe loved by another, he would hardly be able to make any judgment of the others love by his own, but upon a mutual confeſſion and communication, their paſſions would be found not to be the ſame. If Mr. *Hobbes*, and ſome other man were both condemn'd to death, (which is the moſt formidable thing Mr. *Hobbes* can conceive) the other could no more by looking into himſelf know Mr. *Hobbes*'s preſent thoughts, and the extent of his fear, then he could, by looking in his face, know what he hath in his Pocket. Not only the ſeveral complexions, and conſtitutions of the body, the different educations, and climates diſpoſe the affections and paſſions of men to different objects, but have a great influence upon the paſſions themſelves. As the fears, ſo the hopes of Men are as unlike as their gate, and meen. If a Sanguine, and a Melancholic man hope the ſame thing, their

hopes

hopes are no more alike each others, then their complexions are, the hope of the one retaining ſtill ſomwhat like deſpair, whilſt the hope of the other looks like fruition: ſo little ſimilitude there is in the paſſions themſelves without any relation to their objects. That a man of great courage, and a very cowardly man have not the ſame countenance, and preſence of mind in an approch of danger, proceeds not from the ones liking to be killed more then the others, but rather from the difference of their natural Courage. But let us ſuppoſe a man of courage, and a coward equally guilty, or equally innocent (that there may be no difference from the operation of conſcience) to be brought to die together by a judgment which they cannot avoid, and ſo to be equally without hope of life (and death in Mr *Hobbes*'s judgment is equally terrible to all, and with equal care to be avoided, or reſiſted,) How comes it to paſs, that one of theſe undergo's death with no other concernment then as if he were going any other Journy, and the other with ſuch confuſion and trembling, that he is even without life before he dies; if it were true that all Men fear alike upon the like occaſion? There will be the ſame uncertainty in concluding what others do, by obſerving what we our ſelves do, when we think, opine, or reaſon. How ſhall that man, who thinks deliberately, opines modeſtly, and reaſons diſpaſſionately, and by this excellent temper ſatisfies his own judgment in a concluſion, in which at the ſame time he diſcerns others may differ from him: I ſay, How ſhall ſuch a man by his own way of reaſoning judg another mans, who uſually thinks precipitately, opines arrogantly, and reaſons ſuperciliouſly, and concludes

concludes imperiously that man to be mistaken, who determines otherwise then he do's? To conclude, Mr *Hobbes* might as naturally have introduced his unreasonable Doctrine of the similitude of the passions, from the wisdom that he saies is acquired by the reading of men, as from his method of reading ones self. That saying of *Nosce teipsum*, in the sense of *Solon* who prescribed it, was a sober truth, but was never intended as an expedient to discover the similitude of the thoughts of other men by what he found in himself, but as the best means to suppress and destroy that pride and self-conceit, which might temt him to undervalue other men, and to plant that modesty and humility in himself, as would preserve him from such presumtion.

The

The Survey of Chapters 1, 2, 3.

HAving reſolved not to enter into the Liſts with Mr. *Hobbes* upon the Signification of words, or Propriety of expreſſions, in which he exerciſes an abſolute Dictatorſhip; and indeed not to enlarge upon any particular that to me ſeems erroneous, except it be an Error of that kind and conſequence, as carries with it, or in it, ſomwhat that is hurtful to the Peace and Policy of the Kingdom, or prejudicial to the ſincerity of Religion; I ſhould have paſſed over the firſt, ſecond, and third Chapters without any Animadverſion, not troubling my ſelf whether the *imagination and memory are but one thing, which for divers conſiderations hath divers names,* (p. 5.) if I had not ſome apprehenſion, that by an unneceſſary reflexion upon the Scholes in the cloſe of his ſecond Chapter, and finding fault with the uſing ſome words in the ſenſe they ought not to be uſed, he hopes to diſpoſe his Readers to ſuch a prejudice and contemt towards them, that they may more eaſily undervalue them in more ſerious inſtances: the principal foundation that he laies for the ſupport of all his Novelties, being to leſſen and vilifie all the Principles, and all the Perſons, which he well foreſees moſt like to be applied to the demoliſhing his new Structure.

Amongſt the many excellent parts and faculties with which Mr. *Hobbes* is plentifully endowed, his order and method in Writing, and his clear expreſ-

ſing

sing his conceptions in weighty, proper, and significant words, are very remarkable and commendable; and it is some part of his Art to introduce, upon the suddain, instances and remarques, which are the more grateful, and make the more impression upon his Reader, by the unexpectedness of meeting them where somwhat else is talk'd of: for thereby he prepares and disposes the fancy to be pleased with them in a more proper and important place. No man would have imagin'd, that in a Philosophical Discourse of Dreams, and Fayries, and Ghosts, and Goblins, Exorcisms, Crosses, and Holy-water, he would have taken occasion to have reproved *Job* for saying, that *the inspiration of the Almighty giveth men understanding*, Job. 32. 8. which can be no good expression, if it be incongruity to say, *that good thoughts are inspired into a man by God*: and 'tis pity that St. *Paul* did not better weigh his words, when he said, that *we are not sufficient of our selves to think any thing of our selves, but our sufficiency is of God*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 5. or when he said to the *Philippians*, *that it is God which worketh in you both to will, and to do of his good pleasure*, Phil. 2. 13. and that St. *John* had not bin better advised, when he said, *He that committeth sin, is of the Devil*, 1 *John* 3. 8. Upon any of which Texts a man can hardly enlarge in discourse, without saying, that good thoughts *are inspir'd*, or *infus'd* (which he thinks he hath made the more ridiculous, by turning into other words of the like signification) *by God, and evil thoughts by the devil*, which in his understanding, are *amongst the many words making nothing understood*; whereas there are few expressions in which the sense of the speaker is better understood, or by which the sense of the Apostles can be made more

clear then by those expressions. But this Comical mention of the power and goodness of God, and of the Devils activity and malignity, in a place so improper and unnatural for those reflexions, will the more incline his Disciples to undervalue those common notions of the goodness and assistance of God, and of the malice and vigilance of the Devil; and by making themselves merry with that proper and devout custom of speaking, and the natural results from thence, by degrees to undervalue those other conceptions of Religion and Piety, which would restrain and controul the licentious imagination of the excellency of their own understandings, and prepare them to believe, that all the Discourses of Sanctity, and the obligations of Christianity, and the essentials of a Church, Faith, and Obedience to the dictates of Gods Spirit, are but the artifice and invention of Church-men, to advance their own pomp and worldly interest, and that Heaven and Hell are but words to flatter or terrifie men, at least, that the places of either are so situated, and have no other extent or degree of pain and pleasure, then he hath thought fit to assign to them towards the end of his *Leviathan*.

Nor is his instance of the train of imaginations, in his third Chapter, less wonderful. And indeed, Mr. *Hobbes* had the more reason for his opinion of the similitude of thoughts, and that by looking into himself when he thinks, and upon what grounds, he can thereby know the thoughts of other men, when he was with the velocity of a thought, in a moment of time, able to decipher that impertinent Question, What was the value of a Roman penny; and to discover a succession of thoughts in the Enquirer, the

last

laſt of which determined in the reſolution of delivering up the King; which was ſo rare a faculty, that ſuch a ſimilitude of thoughts cannot be concluded to be in other men. And ſince erroneous Doctrines have ſo great an influence upon the minds of men, as to corrupt the natural motives, he knows beſt whether he had not before this formed his new Scheme of Loyalty, and digeſted all thoſe imaginations towards the diſſolution of Allegiance, and eluding the obligation of all Oaths; which if he had done, he had the Key ready to decipher by, and might eaſily diſcover that which no man in *England* could diſcover who had not the ſame Key.

The Survey of Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

WE ſhall with leſs reflexion paſs over his fourth Chapter of Speech, which he ſignifies, was the nobleſt and moſt profitable *Invention* of all other, whether properly or improperly; he ſhall do well to conſider, together with his fifth and ſixth Chapters, which with thoſe which precede, and two or three which follow, he intends as a Dictionary, for the better underſtanding and defining very many terms and words, which he is to make uſe of throughout the reſt of his Work; and which whoever can carry with him in his memory, as he expects every man ſhall do, ſhall be often more confounded in the underſtanding many parts of his Book, then if he forgets them all. In which yet many things are ſaid very wittily and pleaſantly; tho it may be many critical men, whom he hath provoked, may believe many of his Expreſſions to be incongruous, and his Definitions not ſo exact as might have bin expected from ſo great an Artiſt; and that all thoſe Chapters are rather for delight, in the novelty and boldneſs of the expreſſion, then for any real information in the ſubſtantial part of knowledg: ſince few men, upon the moſt exact reading them over, find themſelves wiſer then they were before but rather think that they better underſtood before what *Contemt* ſignifies, then by being now told, (*pag.* 24.) *that it is nothing elſe but an immobility or contumacy of the heart, in reſiſting the action of certain things,*

and

and proceeding from that the heart is already moved otherwise, by other more potent objects; or from want of experience of them; or that they do better understand the nature and original of Laughter, by being informed (*pag.* 27.) *that ſuddain glory is the paſſion which maketh thoſe grimaces called Laughter, and is cauſed either by ſome ſuddain act of their own that pleaſeth them, or by the apprehenſion of ſome deformed thing in another, by compariſon whereof they ſuddainly applaud themſelves.* In which kind of Illuſtrations thoſe Chapters, and in truth his whole Book abounds, and diſcovers a maſter faculty in making eaſie things hard to be underſtood: and men will probably with the more impatience and curioſity, tho with the leſs reverence, enter upon the third part of his Book, which is to define Chriſtian Politics, after he hath ſo well defin'd and deſcrib'd Religion to be *Fear of Power inviſible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales publicly allowed*, (p. 26.) all which I leave to his Friends of the Univerſities. Nor ſhall I ſpend more time upon the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth Chapters, leaving them to the Schole-men to examine, who are in his debt for much mirth which he hath made out of them; I for my part being very indifferent between them, as believing that the Schole-men have contributed very little more to the advancement of any noble or ſubſtantial part of Learning, than Mr. *Hobbes* hath don to the reformation or improvement of Philoſophy and Policy. Yet I may reaſonably ſay ſo much on their behalf, that if Mr. *Hobbes* may take upon him to tranſlate all thoſe terms of Art (the proper ſignification whereof is unanimouſly underſtood, and agreed between all who uſe them, and which in truth are a cipher to which all men of mode-

moderate Learning have the key) into the vulgar Language by the assistance of *Ryders Dictionary*, he hath found a way to render and expose the worthiest Professours of any Science, and all Science it self to the cheap laughter of all illiterate men, which is contrary to Mr. *Hobbes*'s own rule and determination, (pag. 17.) where he saies, *That when a man upon the hearing any Speech, hath those thoughts which the words of that Speech, and their connexion, were ordained and constituted to signifie, then he is said to understand it.* And surely the signification of words and terms, is no less ordain'd and constituted by custom and acceptation, then by Grammar and Etymologies. If it were otherwise, Mr. *Hobbes* himself would be as much exposed to ignorant Auditors, when he reads a Lecture upon the Optics, or even in his ador'd Geometry, if a pleasant Translator should render all his terms as literally, as he hath don the Title of the sixth Chapter of *Suarez*: for every Age, as new things happen, find new words in all Languages to signifie them. The Civilians, who are amongst the best Judges of Latine, can hardly tell how *revestitura* came into their Books, to signifie that which it hath ever signified since the Quarrel began between the Emperor and the Pope upon that subject, which is now as well understood in Latine, as any word in *Tully*. And if *Bombarda* had no original but from the sound, as *Petavius* (a very good Grammarian, besides his other great Learning) saies it had not, we have no reason to be offended with the Schole-men for finding words to discover their own Conceptions, which equally serve our own turn.

The

The Survey of Chapters 10, 11, 12.

I Do acknowledg, that in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Chapters, many things are very well said: and tho some things as ill, with reference to Religion, and to the Clergy, as if there were a combination between the Priests of the Gentiles, *Aristotle*, the Schole-men, and the Clergy of all Professions, to defame, pervert, and corrupt Religion; yet he resumes that Argument so frequently, that I shall chuse to examine the reason and justice of all his Allegations rather in another place, then upon either of these three Chapters; to which I shall only add, that according to his natural delight in Novelties of all kinds, in Religion as well as Policy, he hath supplied the Gentiles with a new God, which was never before found in any of their Catalogues, *The God Chaos*, (pag. 55.) to which he might as warrantably have made them an additional present of his own Idol, *Confusion*. And he will as hardly find a good authority for the aspersion with which he traduces the Policy of the *Roman* Common-wealth in all its greatness and lustre, (*pag.* 57.) *That it made no scruple of tolerating any Religion whatsoever in the City of* Rome *it self, unless it had something in it that could not consist with their civil Government.* Which how untrue soever, was a very seasonable intimation of the wisdom of *Oliver*'s Politics, at that time when he published his *Leviathan*: whereas in truth that great People were not more solicitous in anything, then

in

in preserving the unity and integrity of their Religion from any mixtures; and the Institution of the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* was principally out of that jealousie, and that he might carefully watch that no alteration or innovation might be made in their Religion. And tho they had that general awe for Religion, that they would not suffer the Gods of their Enemies, whom they did not acknowledg for Gods, to be rudely treated and violated; and therefore they both punished their Consul for having robb'd the Temple of *Proserpine*, and caused the full damages to be restored to the injur'd Goddess: yet they neither acknowledg'd her Divinity, nor suffer'd her to have a Temple, or to have any Devotion paid to her within their Dominions; nor indeed any other God or Goddess to be ador'd, then those to whom Sacrifices were made by the Authority of the State. Nor will Mr. *Hobbes* be able to name one Christian Kingdom in the World, where it is believed, that the King hath not his Authority from Christ, unless a Bishop Crown him; tho all Christian Kingdoms have had that reverence for Bishops, as to assign the highest Ecclesiastical Functions to be alwaies perform'd by them: but they well know the King to have the same Authority in all respects before he is crown'd, as after. And what extravagant Power soever the Court of *Rome* hath in some evil Conjunctures heretofore usurp'd, and would be as glad of the like opportunities again; yet in those Kingdoms where that Authority is own'd and acknowledg'd, there want not those who loudly protest against that Doctrine, That a King may be depos'd by a Pope, or that the Clergy and Regulars shall be exemt from the Jurisdiction of their King.

And

And yet upon these unwarrantable suggestions, he presumes to declare, That all the changes of Religion may be attributed to one and the same Cause, and that is, *unpleasing Priests; and those not only amongst Papists, but even in that Church that hath presumed most of Reformation*, by which he intends the Church of *England*, at that time under the most severe and barbarous Persecution; and therefore it was the more enviously and maliciously, as well as dis-honestly alledged.

The Survey of Chapters 13, 14, 15, 16.

THE thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth Chapters, will require a little more disquisition, since under the pretence of examining, or rather (according to his Prerogative) of determining what the natural condition of mankind is, he takes many things for granted which are not true; as (*pag.*60.) that *Nature hath made all men equal in the faculties of body and mind*, and imputes that to the Nature of Man in general, which is but the infirmity of some particular Men; and by a mist of words, under the notion of explaning common terms (the meaning whereof is understood by all Men, and which his explanation leaves less intelligible then they were before) he dazles Mens eies from discerning those Fallacies upon which he raises his Structure, and which he reserves for his second part. And whosoever looks narrowly to his preparatory Assertions, shall find such contradictions, as must destroy the foundation of all his new Doctrine in Government, of which some particulars shall be mentioned anon. So that if his Maxims of one kind were marshalled together, collected out of these four Chapters, and applied to his other Maxims which are to support his whole *Leviathan*, the one would be a sufficient answer to the other; and so many inconsistencies and absurdities would appear between them, that they could never be thought links of one chain; whereas he desires men should believe

lieve all the Propoſitions in his Book to be a chain of Conſequences, without being in any degree wary to avoid palpable contradictions, upon the preſumtion of his Readers total reſignation to his judgment. If it were not ſo, would any man imagine that a man of Mr. *Hobbes*'s ſagacity and provoking humor, ſhould in his fourth Page ſo imperiouſly reproch the Scholes for abſurdity, in ſaying, That *heavy Bodies fall downwards out of an appetite to reſt, thereby aſcribing knowledg to things inanimate*; and himſelf ſhould in his ſixty ſecond Page, deſcribing the nature of foul weather, ſay, *That it lieth not in a ſhower or two of rain, but in an inclination thereto of many daies together*: as if foul weather were not as inanimate a thing as heavy Bodies, and inclination did not imply as much of knowledg as appetite doth? In truth, neither the one or the other word ſignifies in the before-mention'd inſtances, more then a natural tendency to motion and alteration.

When God vouchſafed to make man after his own Image, and in his own Likeneſs, and took ſo much delight in him, as to give him the command and dominion over all the Inhabitants of the Earth, the Air, and the Sea, it cannot be imagin'd but that at the ſame time he endued him with Reaſon, and all the other noble Faculties which were neceſſary for the adminiſtration of that Empire, and the preſervation of the ſeveral Species which were to ſucceed the Creation: and therefore to uncreate him to ſuch a baſeneſs and villany in his nature, as to make Man ſuch a Raſcal, and more a Beaſt in his frame and conſtitution then thoſe he is appointed to govern, is a power that God never gave to the Devil; nor hath any body aſſum'd it, till Mr. *Hobbes* took it upon

him. Nor can any thing be ſaid more contrary to the Honor and Dignity of God Almighty, then that he ſhould leave his maſter workmanſhip, Man, in a condition of War of every man againſt every man, in ſuch a condition of confuſion, (*pag.* 64.) *That every man hath a right to every thing, even to one anothers body:* inclin'd to all the malice, force and fraud that may promote his profit or his pleaſure, and without any notions of, or inſtinct towards juſtice, honor, or good nature, which only makes man-kind ſuperior to the Beaſts of the Wilderneſs. Nor had Mr. *Hobbes* any other reaſon to degrade him to this degree of Beſtiality, but that he may be fit to wear thoſe Chains and Fetters which he hath provided for him. He deprives man of the greateſt happineſs and glory that can be attributed to him, who deveſts him of that gentleneſs and benevolence towards other men, by which he delights in the good fortune and tranquillity that they enjoy, and makes him ſo far prefer himſelf before all others, as to make the reſt a prey to advance any commodity or conveniency of his own; which is a barbarity ſuperior to what the moſt ſavage Beaſts are guilty of,

—Quando leoni,
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?

Man only, created in the likeneſs of God himſelf, is the only creature in the World, that out of the malignity of his own nature, and the baſe fear that is inſeparable from it, is oblig'd for his own benefit, and for the defence of his own right, to worry and deſtroy all of his own kind, until they all become

yoaked

yoaked by a Covenant and Contract that Mr. *Hobbes* hath provided for them, and which was never yet entred into by any one man, and is in nature impossible to be entred into.

After such positive and magisterial Assertions against the dignity and probity of man-kind, and the honor and providence of God Almighty, the instances and arguments given by him are very unweighty and trivial to conclude the nature of man to be so full of jealousie and malignity, as he would have it believed to be, from that common practice of circumspection and providence, which custom and discretion hath introduced into human life. For men shut their Chests in which their mony is, as well that their servants or children may not know what they have, as that it may be preserved from Thieves; and they lock their doors that their Houses may not be common, and ride arm'd, and in company, because they know that there are ill men, who may be inclined to do injuries if they find an opportunity. Not is a wariness to prevent the damage and injury that Thieves and Robbers may do to any man, an argument that Mankind is in that mans opinion inclin'd and disposed to commit those outrages. If it be known that there is one Thief in a City, all men have reason to shut their doors and lock their chests: and if there be two or three Drunkards in a Town, all men have reason to go arm'd in the streets, to controul the violence or indignity they might receive from them. Princes are attended by their Guards in progress, and all their servants arm'd when they hunt, without any apprehension of being assaulted; custom having made it so necessary, that many men are not longer without their Swords then they are

with-

without their Doublets, who never were jealous that any man desir'd to hurt them. Nor will the instance he gives of the inhabitants in *America*, be more to his purpose then the rest, since as far as we have any knowledg of them, the savage People there live under a most intire subjection and slavery to their several Princes; who indeed for the most part live in hostility towards each other, upon those contentions which engage all other Princes in War, and which Mr. *Hobbes* allows to be a just cause of War, jealousie of each others Power to do them harm. And these are the notable instances by which Mr. *Hobbes* hath by his painful disquisition and investigation, in the hidden and deep secrets of Nature, discover'd that unworthy fear and jealousie to be inherent in mankind, (*pag.* 63.) *That the notions of right and wrong have no place, but Force and Fraud are the two cardinal Virtues; that there is no propriety, no dominion, no mine or thine distinct, but only this to be every mans that he can get, and for so long as he can keep it*, and this struggle to continue, till he submits to the servitude to which he hath design'd him for his comfort and security.

Mr. *Hobbes* would do very much honor to *Aristotle*, and repair much of the injury he hath don to him, if he can perswade men to believe, (*pag.* 59.) that the *bringing in his Philosophy and Doctrine, hath bin a cause to take away the reputation of the Clergy*, and to incline the People to the reformation of Religion; and yet he hath more authority for that, then for most of his Opinions, tho it may be he doth not know it. For in the year a thousand two hundred and nine, *Aristotles* Metaphysics, which had bin lately brought from *Constantinople*, were condemn'd, and forbidden to be read by a Council in *Paris*, upon

a sup-

a ſuppoſition or apprehenſion, that that Book had contributed very much to the new Heretical Opinions of the *Albigenſes*. So far the French Clergy of that age concurred in opinion with Mr. *Hobbes*: but we may much more reaſonably conceive, That it hath bin illiteratneſs, ſtupid ignorance, and having never heard of *Ariſtotle*, that may at any time have brought contemt upon the Clergy: and tho men may too unreaſonably, it may be, adhere to *Ariſtotle* in ſome particulars, and ſo may be reaſonably contradicted, yet no man of the Clergy or Laity was ever contemned for being thought to underſtand *Ariſtotle*. Indeed Mr. *Hobbes* may eaſily refute *Ariſtotle*, and all who have writ before or ſince him, if he be the Soveraign Magiſtrate, not only to enact what Laws he pleaſes, and to interpret all that were made before according to his pleaſure, and to adopt them to be the Laws of Nature, which he declares (*pag.* 79.) to be *immutable and eternal*. And we have great reaſon to watch him very narrowly, when his Legiſlative fit is upon him, leaſt he caſt ſuch a net over us, knit by what he calls the Law of Nature, or by his Definitions, that we be deprived of both the uſe of our liberty, and our reaſon to oppoſe him. He is very much offended with *Ariſtotle*, for ſaying in the firſt Book of his Politics, That by Nature ſome are fit to command, and others to ſerve; which he ſaies, (*pag.* 77.) is not only againſt reaſon, but alſo againſt experience, for *there are very few ſo foolish, that had not rather govern themſelves, then be governed by others*. Which Propoſition doth not contradict any thing ſaid by *Ariſtotle*, the Queſtion being, Whether Nature hath made ſome men worthier, not whether it hath made all others ſo modeſt as to confeſs it; and

would

would have required a more serious Disquisition, since it is no more then is imputed to Horses, and other Beasts, whereof men find by experience, that some by nature are fitter for nobler uses, and others for vile, and to be only Beasts of burden. But indeed, he had the less need of reason to refute him, when he had a Law at hand to controul him, which he saies, is the Law of Nature, (*pag.* 77.) *That every man must acknowledg every other man for his equal by nature*, which may be true as to the essentials of human Nature, and yet there may be inequality enough as to a capacity of Government. But whatever his opinion is, we have *Solomons* judgment against him, *Insipiens erit servus sapientis*, Prov. 11. 29. And many Learned Men are of opinion, That the *Gibeonites*, who by the help of an impudent lie found the means to save their lives, were a People by nature of low and abject spirits, fit only to do the low and mean services for which they were prepared. And some of the Fathers believe, That when the Patriarch *Jacob*, in his dying Prophesie of *Issachar*, declar'd, *Issachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens. And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute*, *Gen.* 49. 14, 15. *Jacob* fore-saw that in that Tribe there would be *depressio intellectus*, and that they would be only fit to be servants. And 'tis very true, that *Aristotle* did believe, that Divine Providence doth shew and demonstrate who are fit and proper for low and vile offices, not only by very notable defects in their understandings, incapable of any cultivation, but by some eminent deformity of the body (tho that doth not always hold) which makes them unfit to bear rule. And without doubt,

the

the obſervation of all Ages ſince that time hath contributed very much to that Concluſion which Mr. *Hobbes* ſo much derides, of Inequality by nature, and that Nature it ſelf hath a bounty which ſhe extends to ſome men in a much ſuperior degree then ſhe doth to others. Which is not contradicted by ſeeing many great defects and indigencies of Nature in ſome men, wonderfully corrected and repair'd by induſtry, education, and above all, by converſation; nor by ſeeing ſome early bloſſoms in others, which raiſe a great expectation of rare perfection, that ſuddainly decay, and inſenſibly wither away by not being cheriſhed and improved by diligence, or rather by being blaſted by vice or ſupine lazineſs: thoſe accidents may ſomtimes happen, do not very often, and are neceſſary to awaken men out of the Lethargy of depending wholly upon the Wealth of Natures ſtore, without adminiſtring any ſupply to it, out of their induſtry and obſervation. And every mans experience will afford him abundance of examples in the number of his own acquaintance, in which, of thoſe who have alwaies had equal advantages of Education, Converſation, Induſtry, and it may be of virtuous Inclinations, it is eaſie to obſerve very different parts and faculties: ſome of quick apprehenſion, and as ſteady comprehenſion, wit, judgment, and ſuch a ſagacity as diſcerns at diſtance as well as at hand, concluding from what they ſee will fall out, what is preſently to be don; when others born, and bred with the ſame care, warineſs, and attention, and with all the viſible advantages and benefits which the other enjoied, remain ſtill of a heavier and a duller alloy, leſs diſcerning to contrive and fore-ſee, leſs vigorous to execute, and

in a word, of a very different Classis to all purposes; which can proceed from no other cause, but the distinction that Nature her self made between them, in the distribution of those Faculties to the one with a more liberal hand then to the other.

Did not all the World at that time, and hath it not ever since believed, that *Julius Cesar* had from nature a more exalted Spirit and Genius, then any of those who were overcome by him; tho some of them appear'd, or were generally believ'd to be superior in the conduct of great Affairs? There is judgment gotten by experience very necessary, but the first attemt and direction of the mind, the first daring proceeds purely from Nature and its influence. When we see a *Marius* from a common Soldier, baffle the Nobility of *Rome*, and in despight of opposition, make himself seven times Consul: or a *Diocletian*, from a mean and low birth, and no other advantage of Education then every other common Soldier had with him, nor countenance or assistance from any Superior, but what his own Virtue purchased, to raise himself to the full state and power of the greatest Emperor, and to govern as great, or a greater part of the World, then ever *Cesar* did, and after having enjoied that Empire above eighteen years in the highest glory, to give it over, and divest himself of it, merely for the ease and pleasure of retirement to his private House and Garden, and to die in that repose after he had enjoied it some years; must we believe such a Man to have no advantages by nature, above all other men of the same time? When *Marmurius*, or *Vecturius* (for he went by both names) one of the thirty Tyrants, from a common Blacksmith who made arms (for the man who killed him, having

having bin before his servant, and wrought under him, told him, *Hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti*: raised himself, not by a suddain mutiny and insurrection, but by passing all the degrees of a Soldier, during many years in a regular and disciplin'd Army, to be Emperor by a common voice and election, as a Man the fittest for the Command; is it possible for us to believe, that this Man received no other talent from Nature, then she afforded to every other Blacksmith? Besides many particular Examples of this kind in every particular Kingdom, in most of which the visible advantages of Friends, Patrons, and other accidental Concurrences have not at all contributed to the preferment of them before other men; the World hath yielded us an example near our own time (for it is little more then two hundred years since) of such a prodigious progress and success in the power of one Man, that there is nothing of Story ancient or modern that is parallel to it, The great *Tamberlane*, who (tho not so mean a Person in his original, as he is vulgarly conceived to have bin) was born a poor Prince over a contemn'd and barbarous Country and People, whose manners he first cultivated by his own native justice and goodness, and by the strength of his own Genius, improved his own Faculties and Understanding to a marvellous Lustre and Perfection, towards which neither his Climate nor his conversation could contribute. Upon this stock he rais'd and led an Army of his Subjects, into the better Dominions of their Neighbors who contemned them. With these he fought, and won many Battels, subdued and conquer'd many Kingdoms; and after the total defeat of the greatest Army that was then in the World,

he took the greateſt Emperor of the World Priſoner, and for the contemt that he had ſhew'd towards him, treated him as his vileſt Slave. And it hath bin as notorious, that after the death of theſe, and the like ſuch extraordinary Perſons, the Forces by which they wrought thoſe wonders, and the Counſellors and Officers whoſe adminiſtration co-operated with them, ſuddainly degenerated; and as if the Soul were departed from the Body, became a Carcaſs without any uſe of beauty. And can we believe, that thoſe ſtupendous men had no talent by nature above others? And are we bound to believe, (*pag.* 77.) *that by the Law of Nature every man is bound to acknowledg other for his equal by nature?*

But where are thoſe Maxims to be found which Mr. *Hobbes* declares, and publiſhes to be the Laws of Nature, in any other Author before him? That is only properly call'd the Law of Nature, that is dictated to the whole Species: as, to defend a mans ſelf from violence, and to repel force by force; not all that reſults upon prudential motives unto the mind of ſuch as have bin cultivated by Learning and Education, which no doubt can compile ſuch a Body of Laws, as would make all other uſeleſs, except ſuch as ſhould provide for the execution of, and obedience to thoſe. For under what other notion can that reaſonable Concluſion, which is a neceſſary part of the Law of Nations, be call'd the Law of Nature, which is his fifteenth Law, (*pag.* 78.) *That all men that mediate Peace be allow'd ſafe conduct?* And of this kind much of the Body of his Law of Nature is compil'd, which I ſhould not diſlike, the Style being in ſome ſenſe not improper, but that I obſerve that from ſome of theſe Concluſions which he pronoun-

ces

ces to be (*pag.* 79.) *immutable, and eternal as the Laws of Nature*, he makes deductions and inferences to controul Opinions he diſlikes, and to obtain Conceſſions which are not right, by amuzing men with his method, and confounding rather then informing their underſtandings, by a chime of words in definitions and pleaſant inſtances, which ſeem not eaſie to be contradicted, and yet infer much more then upon a review can be deduc'd from them. And it is an unanſwerable evidence of the irreſiſtible force and ſtrength of Truth and Reaſon, that whil'ſt men are making war againſt it with all their power and ſtratagems, ſomwhat doth ſtill ſtart up out of the dictates and confeſſions of the Adverſary that determines the Controverſie, and vindicates the Truth from the malice that would oppreſs it. How ſhould it elſe come to paſs, that Mr. *Hobbes*, whil'ſt he is demoliſhing the whole frame of Nature for want of order to ſupport it, and makes it unavoidably neceſſary for every man to cut his neighbors throat, to kill him who is weaker then himſelf, and to circumvent, and by any fraud deſtroy him who is ſtronger, in all which there is no injuſtice, becauſe Nature hath not otherwiſe provided for every particular mans ſecurity, I ſay, how comes it to paſs, that at the ſame time when he is poſſeſſed of this frenzy, he would in the ſame, and the next Chapter, ſet down ſuch a Body of Laws preſcribed by Nature it ſelf, as are *immutable and eternal?* that there appears, by his own ſhewing, a full remedy againſt all that confuſion, for avoiding whereof he hath devis'd all that unnatural and impoſſible Contract and Covenant? If the Law of the Goſpel, *Whatſoever you require that others ſhould do to you, that do ye to them*, be the Law,

of

of all men, as he saies it is (*pag.* 65.) that is, the Law of Nature, *Naturâ, id est jure gentium*, saies *Tully*, it being nothing else but *quod naturalis Ratio inter omnes homines constituit*; If it be the Law of Nature that every man strive to accommodate himself to the rest, as he saies it is (*pag.* 76.) and *that no man by deed, word, countenance, or gesture, declare hatred or contempt of another*; If all men are bound by the Law of Nature, (*pag.* 78.) *That they that are at controversie, submit their right to the judgment of an arbitrator*, as he saies they are: If Nature hath thus providently provided for the Peace and Tranquility of her Children, by Laws immutable & eternal, that are written in their hearts: how come they to fall into that condition of war, as to be every one against every one, and to be without any other cardinal Virtues, but of force and fraud? It is a wonderful thing, that a man should be so sharp-sighted, as to discern mankind so well inclosed and fortified by the wisdom of Nature, and so blind as to think him in a more secure estate by his transferring of right to another man, which yet he confesses is impossible intirely to transfer, and by Covenants and Contracts of his own devising, and which he acknowledges to be void in part, and in other parts impossible to be perform'd.

But I say, if in truth Nature hath dictated all those excellent Conclusions to every man, without which they cannot be called the Laws of Nature, and if it hath farther instituted all those Duties which are contain'd in the Second Table, all which he saies were the Laws of Nature: I know not what temptation or authority he could have, to pronounce mankind to be left by Nature in that distracted condition of war, except he prefer the authority of *Ovids Metamorphosis*,

sis, of the sowing of *Cadmus*'s teeth, before any other Scripture, Divine or Humane. And it is as strange, that by his Covenants and Contracts which he is so wary in wording (as if he were the Secretary of Nature) that they may bind that man fast enough whom he pleases to assign to those Bonds; and as if he were the Plenipotentiary of Nature too, to bind and to loose all he thinks fit: he hath so ill provided for the Peace he would establish, that he hath left a door open for all the Confusion he would avoid, when, notwithstanding that he hath made them divest themselves of the liberty they have by Nature, and transfer all this into the hands of a single Person, who thereby is so absolute Soveraign, that he may take their Lives and their Estates from them without any act of Injustice, yet after all this transferring and devesting, every man reserves a right (as unalienable) to defend his own life, even against the sentence of Justice. What greater contradiction can there be to the Peace, which he would establish upon those unreasonable conditions, then this Liberty, which he saies can never be abandoned, and which yet may dissolve that peace every day? and yet he saies, (*pag.* 70. *This is granted to be true by all men, in that they lead Criminals to execution and prison with armed men, notwithstanding such Criminals have consented to the Law by which they are condemned.* Which indeed is an argument, that men had rather escape then be hanged; but no more an argument that they have a right to rescue themselves, then the fashion of wearing Swords is an argument that men are afraid of having their throats cut by the malice of their neighbors: both which, are arguments no man would urge to men, whose under-

underſtandings he did not much undervalue. But upon many of theſe Particulars there is a more proper occaſion hereafter for enlargement. And ſo we paſs through his Proſpect of the Laws of Nature, and many other Definitions and Deſcriptions, with liberty to take review of them upon occaſion, that we may make haſt to his Second Part, for which he thinks he hath made a good preparation to impoſe upon us in this Firſt; and he will often tell us, when he ſhould prove what he affirms, that he hath evinc'd that Point, and made it evident in ſuch a Chapter in his Firſt part, where in truth he hath ſaid very much, and proved very little. I ſhall only conclude this, with an obſervation which the place ſeems to require, of the defect in Mr. *Hobbes*'s Logic, which is a great preſumtion, that from very true Propoſitions he deduces very erroneous and abſurd Concluſions. That no man hath power to transfer the right over his own life to the diſpoſal of another man, is a very true Propoſition, from whence he infers, that he hath reſerved the power and diſpoſal of it to himſelf, and therefore that he may defend it by force even againſt the judgment of Law and Juſtice: whereas the natural conſequence of that Propoſition is, That therefore ſuch transferring and covenanting (being void) cannot provide for the peace and ſecurity of a Commonwealth. Without doubt, no man is *Dominus vitæ ſuæ*, and therefore cannot give that to another, which he hath not in himſelf. God only hath reſerv'd that abſolute Dominion and Power of life and death to Himſelf, and by his putting the Sword into the hand of the Supreme Magiſtrate, hath qualified and enabled him to execute that Juſtice which is neceſſary for the peace

and

and preſervation of his People, which may ſeem in a manner to be provided for by Mr. *Hobbes*'s Law of Nature, if what he ſaies be true, (*pag.* 68.) *That right to the end containeth right to the means.* And this ſole Propoſition, that men cannot diſpoſe of their own lives, hath bin alwaies held as a manifeſt and undeniable Argument, that Soveraigns never had, nor can have their Power from the People.

Second Part.

The Survey of Chapters 17, 18.

MR. *Hobbes* having taken upon him to imitate God, and created Man after his own likeneſs, given him all the paſſions and affections which he finds in himſelf, and no other, he preſcribes him to judg of all things and words, according to the definitions he ſets down, with the Autority of a Creator. After he hath delighted himſelf in a commendable method, and very witty and pleaſant deſcription of the nature and humor of the World, as far as he is acquainted with it, (upon many particulars whereof, which he calls Definitions, there will be frequent occaſion of reflexions in this diſcourſe, without breaking the thred of it by entring upon impertinent exceptions to matters poſitively averred without any apparent reaſon, when it is no great matter whether they be true or no,) He comes at laſt to inſtitute ſuch a Commonwealth as never was in nature, or ever heard of from the beginning of the World till this ſtructure of his, and like a bountifull Creator, gives the Man he hath made, the Soveraign command and Government of it, with ſuch an extent of power and autority, as the Great *Turk* hath not yet appear'd to affect. In which it is probable he hath follow'd his firſt method, and for the Man after his own likeneſs

hath

hath created a Government, that he would himself like to be trusted with, having determined Liberty, and Propriety, and Religion to be only empty words, and to have no other existence then in the Will and Breast of this Soveraign Governor, and all this in order to make his People happy, and to enjoy the blessing of Peace. And yet with all this, his Governor would quickly find his power little enough, that is, of little continuance, if his Government be founded upon no other security then is provided in his institution: and the justice he assigns will be as weak a support to his Governor, as he supposes a Covenant would be to the peoples benefit, the imagination whereof he conceives to be so ridiculous, that it can only proceed from want of understanding, that Covenants being but words and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, constrain, or protect any man, but what they have from the Public Sword, that is from the untied hands of his Soveraign Man: as if Justice, which is the support of his Governor when he breaks and violates all the Elements of Justice, because all men are in justice bound to observe contracts, were more then a word, or a more valiant word and stronger breath to constrain, and protect any man, when that Sword is wrested from his Soveraign Man, or his hand is bound by the many hands which should be governed by him. But the People need not be offended with him, for giving so extravagant a power to a Person they never intended should have such an Empire over them: if they will have patience till he hath finished his Scheme of Soveraignty, he will infeeble it again for them to that degree, that no ambitious man would take it up, if he could have it

for asking. But to proſecute the argument in his own order.

As he hath made a worſe Man by much, by making him too like himſelf; ſo he hath made a much worſe Common-Wealth then ever was yet known in the World, by making it ſuch as he would have: and nothing can be more wonderful, then that a man of Mr. *Hobbes* his Sagacity, ſhould raiſe ſo many concluſions of a very pernicious influence upon the Peace and Government of every Kingdom and Common-wealth in Europe, upon a mere ſuppoſition and figment of a Common-wealth inſtituted by himſelf, and without any example. He will not find any one Government in the world, of what kind ſoever, ſo inſtituted, as he dogmatically declares all Government to be; nor was mankind in any nation ſince the Creation upon ſuch a level, as to inſtitute their Government by ſuch an aſſembly and election, and covenant, and conſent, as he very unwarrantably more then ſuppoſes. And it was an undertaking of the more impertinence, ſince by his own rule, (pag. 95.) *where there is already erected a ſoveraign power*, which was then, and ſtill is in every Kingdom and State in Europe, and for ought we know in the whole world, *there can be no other repreſentative of the ſame People, but only to certain particular ends limited by the Soveraign.* So that he could have no other deſign, but to ſhake what was erected, and the Government was not at that time in any ſuſpence but in his own Country, by the effect of an odious and deteſtable Rebellion; which yet could not prevail with an effective Army of above one hundred thouſand men, with which the Uſurper had ſubdued three Nations, to ſubmit to the

Uſurper

Usurper in such a new model, and to transfer their right by such Covenants, as he conceives mankind to be even oblig'd to do by the Laws of Nature, and to induce them to do which, I do heartily wish that Mr *Hobbes* could truly vindicate himself from designing, when he published his *Leviathan*: upon which disquisition we cannot avoid enlarging hereafter upon further provocation.

It had bin kindly don of Mr. *Hobbes*, if according to his laudable custom of illustrating his definitions by instances, as he often doth with great pregnancy, he had to this his positive determination added one instance of a Government so instituted. There is no doubt there are in all Governments many things don by, and with the consent of the People, nay all Government so much depends upon the consent of the People, that without their consent and submission it must be dissolved, since where no body will obey, there can be no command, nor can one man compel a million to do what they have no mind to do: but that any Government was originally instituted by an assembly of men equally free, and that they ever elected the Person who should have the Soveraign power over them, is yet to be proved, and till it be proved, must not be supposed, to raise new doctrines, upon which shake all Government. How Soveraign power was originally instituted, and how it came to condescend to put restraints upon it self, and even to strip it self of some parts of its Soveraignty for its own benefit and advantage, and how far it is bound to observe the contracts and covenants it hath submitted to, I shall deliver my opinion before this Discourse is finish'd, and shall refer the approbation of it to Mr.

Hobbes,

Hobbes, ſuppoſing he will never think all the reaſon in the world to be ſtrong enough to prove, that what all men ſee is, cannot be. But by the way, he had dealt more like the Magiſtrate he affects to be, if he had founded his Government upon his own imperious averment, and left every man to queſtion it that dares: then to take notice, and foreſee an objection which he ſaies is the ſtrongeſt he can make, and make no better an anſwer to it, then to anſwer one queſtion with an other. He ſees men will ask, (and it is not poſſible they can avoid it) Where, and When ſuch power hath by ſubjects bin acknowledg'd? which he would have us believe is ſubſtantially anſwered by his other queſtion, When, or Where has there bin a Kingdom long free from Sedition and Civil War? which might receive a very full anſwer, by aſſigning many Governments under which the Subjects have enjoied very long Peace, Quiet, and Plenty, which never was, nor ever can be enjoied one hour under his (as ſhall be proved when we examine it.) But it will ſerve his turn, if it hath once bin diſquieted by a Sedition or Civil War; and ſo all Government that is known and eſtabliſhed, muſt be laid aſide and overthrown, to erect an other that he ſuppoſes will cure all defects. If Mr. *Hobbes* had thought fit to write problematically, and to have examin'd, as many have don, the nature of Government, and the nature of Mankind that is to be govern'd, and from the conſideration of both, had modeſtly propoſed ſuch a form, as to his judgment might better provide for the ſecurity, peace, and happineſs of a People, (which is the end of Government,) then any form that is yet practic'd and ſubmitted to, he might well

have answered one objection of an inconvenience in his new form, with another of a greater inconvenience in all other forms. But when he will introduce a Government of his own devising, as founded and instituted already, and that not as somewhat new, but submitted to by the Covenants, and Obligations, and Election our selves have made, and to that we are bound by the rules of Justice founded upon our own consent, to prescind neither to liberty, or property, other then our Governor thinks fit to indulge to us, he must be contented not to be believed, or, must vouchsafe to tell us when, and where that consent of ours was given, and we submitted to those obligations: and it will be no kind of answer or satisfaction, to say magisterially, that if it be not so, it should be so for our good, which we clearly find will turn to our irreparable damage and destruction. And it is a very confident thing, that he should hope to support his sovereign right in so unlimited an extent upon the Law of Nature, because (p. 176.) *that forbids the violation of Faith*, without being pressed to tell us, when, and where that faith was given, that is so obligatory, and the violation wherof must be so penal. But it is more prodigiously bold, to confess upon the matter, that there hath not hitherto bin any Commonwealth, where those rights have bin acknowledged, or challenged, and to undervalue the argument, by making it as ridiculous, as if the Savage People of *America*, should deny there were any grounds or principles of reason to build, as their Architecture is not yet arrived at? So he thinks, that tho his Savage Country-men, and Neighbors, have yet only bin accustomed to Governments imperfect,

perfect, & apt to relapse into diſorders, he hath found out principles by *induſtrious meditation*, to make their conſtitution everlaſting. And truly he hath ſome reaſon to be confident of his Principles, if tho they cannot be proved by reaſon, he be ſure they are Principles from authority of Scripture, as he profeſſes them to be, and which muſt be examin'd in its courſe. In the mean time he may be thought to be too indulgent to his Soveraign Governor, and very neer to contradict himſelf, that after he hath made the keeping and obſervation of promiſes to be a part of the Law of Nature, which is *unalterable and eternal*, and ſo the ground and foundation of that obedience which the Subject muſt render, how tyrannically ſoever exacted, yet *all Covenants entred into by the Soveraign to be void*; *and that to imagine that he is or can be bound to perform any promiſe or covenant, proceeds only from want of underſtanding*. And it would be worth his pains to conſider, whether the aſſigning ſuch a power to his Governor, or the abſolving him from all Covenants and promiſes, be a rational way to eſtabliſh ſuch a Peace as is the end of Government: and ſince he confeſſes the juſteſt Government may be overthrown by force, it ought prudently to be conſidered, what is like to prevent that force, as well as what the ſubject is bound to conſent to; and whether people may not be very naturally diſpos'd to uſe that force againſt him that declares himſelf to be abſolv'd from all Oaths, Covenants, and Promiſes, and whether any obligation of reaſon or juſtice can eſtabliſh the Government in him, who founds it upon ſo unrighteous a determination.

If Mr. *Hobbes* did not affect to be of the humor

mon of those unreasonable Gamesters; which he saies (Pag. 19.) *is intolerable in the society of men, who will after trump is turned, use for trump, upon every occasion, that suit whereof they have most in their hand*, whom he likens to those men who clamor and demand right reason for Judg, yet seek no more, but that things should be determined by no other mens reason then their own. I say, if Mr. *Hobbes* were not possessed by this supercilious spirit which he condemns, since this his institution of Soveraignty is a mere imagination, he might with as much reason, if he would have bin pleased to have called it so, because it would have carried with it more equality and consequently more security, have supposed a Covenant to be on the Soveraigns part which that he may not do, he will not admit that they who are his Subjects make any Covenant with their Soveraign to obey him; which if he did, he could as well covenant again with them to govern righteously, without making them the Judges of his justice, or himself liable to their controul and jurisdiction. So that the Soveraign hath no security for the obedience of his People, but the promise they have made to each other, and consequently if they rebell against him, he cannot complain of any injustice don to him, because they have broke no promise they made to him. And truly, by his own Logic, they may release to one another when they think it convenient: whereas if the promises be mutual, I do not say conditional, the Soveraign must not be at the mercy of his Subjects, but as they put themselves under his power, so he promises them not to use that power wantonly or tyrannically (which will

be a proper and significant word against all his interpretations) by which they have as much obligation upon him to be just, as he hath upon them to be obedient, which is no other, then that they swarve from justice, if they withdraw their obedience from him. This had bin a more natural and equitable institution, and more like to have lasted, having in it the true essential form of contracts, in which it will never be found that one party covenants, and the other not, which is the reason Mr. *Hobbes* himself gives, why no Covenant can be made with God, and that (Pag. 89.) *the pretence of Covenant with God, is so evident a lye, even in the pretenders own consciences, that it is not only an act of an unjust, but also of a vile and unmanly disposition*, which assertion is destructive of our Religion, and against the expres sense of Scripture.

The impossibility alledg'd for such a Covenant, because it could not be don before he was Soveraign, for that the Subjects who submit to him were not yet one person, and after he is Soveraign what he doth is void, is but a fancy of words which have no solid signification. Nor is the instance which he gives of the popular Government, by which he would make the imagination of such a Covenant ridiculous, of any importance; for he saies (Pag. 90.) *No Man is so dull as to say, that the People of Rome made a Covenant with the Romans to hold the Soveraignty on such or such conditions, which not perform'd the Romans might lawfully depose the Roman People*; which is, according to his usual practice, to put an objection into the mouth of a foolish adversary to make his Readers merry. And yet he laies so much weight upon it, that he saies it was only over

incli-

inclination to a popular Government, that men do not see that there is the same reason with reference to Monarchy. And so that is and the reason good to either. For doth not every man know, that knows any thing of the Government of Rome, that when the Soveraignty was intirely vested in the Senate, and had long bin so, the People of Rome made a great alteration in the Soveraignty by making Tribunes (by which *Machiavel* saies their Government was the more firm and secure) and afterwards by introducing other Magistrats into the Soveraignty. Nor were the Admissions and Covenants the Senate made in those cases ever declared void, but observed with all punctuality: which is argument enough, that the Soveraign power may admit limitations without any danger to it self or the People, which is all that is contended for.

As there never was any such Person (Pag. 88.) *of whose acts a great multitude by mutual Covenant one with another have made themselves every one the author, to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient for their peace, and common defence*, which is the definition he gives of his Common-wealth. So if it can be supposed that any Nation can concur in such a designation, and devesting themselves of all their right and liberty, it could only be in reason obligatory to the present contractors, nor do's it appear to us, that their posterity must be bound by so unthrifty a concession of their Parents. For tho *Adam* by his Rebellion against God forfeited all the privileges which his unborn posterity might have claimed if he had preserved his innocence, and tho Parents may alienate their Estates from

their Children, and thereby leave them Beggars; yet we have not the draught of any Contract, nor is that which Mr. *Hobbes* hath put himself to the trouble to prepare, valid enough to that purpose, by which they have left impositions and penalties upon the Persons of their posterity: nor is it probable that they would think themselves bound to submit thereunto. And then the Soveraign would neither find himself the more powerfull, or the more secure, for his contractors having covenanted one with an other, and made themselves every one the author of all his actions: and it is to be doubted, that the People would rather look upon him as the *Vizier Basha* instituted by their Fathers, then as Gods Lieutenant appointed to govern them under him.

It is to no purpose to examine the Prerogatives he grants to his Soveraign, because he founds them all upon a supposition of a contract and covenant that never was in nature, nor ever can reasonably be supposed to be; yet he confesses it to be *the generation* (Pag. 87.) *of the great Leviathan*, and which falling to the ground all his Prerogatives must likewise fall too; and so much to the damage of the Soveraign power, (to which most of the Prerogatives are due) that men will be apt to suppose, that they proceed from a ground which is not true, and so be the more inclined to dispute them. Whereas those Prerogatives are indeed vested in the Soveraign by his being Soveraign, but he do's not become Soveraign by vertue of such a contract and covenant, but are of the essence of his Soveraignty, founded upon a better title then such an accidental convention, and their designing a Soveraign by their Covenants

venants with one another, and none with or to him, who is ſo abſolutely to command them. And here he ſuppoſes again, that whatſoever a Soveraign is poſſeſſed of, is of his Soveraignty; and therefore he will by no means admit, that he ſhall part with any of his power which he calls *eſſential and inſeparable rights*, and that whatever grant he makes of ſuch power, the ſame is void: and he do's believe that this Soveraign right was at the time when he publiſhed his Book ſo well underſtood (that is *Cromwel* liked his Doctrine ſo well) that it would be generally acknowledged in *England* at the next return of peace. Yet he ſees himſelf deceived: it hath pleaſed God to reſtore a bleſſed and a general peace, and neither King nor People believe his Doctrine to be true, or conſiſtent with peace. How, and why the moſt abſolute Soveraigns may, as they find occaſion, part with, and deprive themſelves of many branches of their power, will be more at large diſcovered in an other place: yet we may obſerve in this the very complaiſant humor of Mr. *Hobbes*, and how great a Courtier he deſir'd to appear to the Soveraign power that then govern'd, by how odious and horrible a uſurpation ſoever, in that he found a way to excuſe and juſtify what they had already don in the leſſening and diminution of their own Soveraign power, which it concern'd them to have believ'd was very lawfully and ſecurely don. For, they having, as the moſt popular and obliging act they could perform, taken away *Wardſhips* and Tenures, he confeſſes after his enumeration of twelve Prerogatives, which he ſaies (Pag. 92.) *are the rights which make the eſſence of Soveraignty*, for theſe, he ſaies, *are incommunicable, and inſeparable*,

I say, he confesses *the power to coin money, to dispose of the estates and persons of infant heirs, and all other statute prerogatives may be transferred by the Soveraign*; whereas he might have bin informed, if he had bin so modest as to think he had need of any information, that those are no Statute Prerogatives, but as inherent and inseparable from the Crown, as many of those which he declares to be of the Essence of the Soveraignty. But both those were already entred upon, and he was to support all their actions which were past, as well as to provide for their future proceedings.

If Mr. *Hobbes* had known any thing of the constitution of the Monarchy of *England*, supported by as firm principles of Government as any Monarchy in *Europe*, and which enjoied a series of as long prosperity, he could never have thought that the late troubles there proceeded from an opinion receiv'd of the greatest part of England, *that the power was divided between the King, and the Lords, and the House of Commons*, which was an opinion never heard of in *England* till the Rebellion was begun, and against which all the Laws of *England* were most cleer, and known to be most positive. But as he cannot but acknowledg, that his own Soveraignty is obnoxious to the Lusts, and other irregular passions of the People, so the late execrable Rebellion proceeded not from the defect of the Laws, nor from the defect of the just and ample power of the King, but from the power ill men rebelliously possessed themselves of, by which they suppressed the strength of the Laws, and wrested the power out of the hands of the King: against which violence his Soveraign is no otherwise secure, then by declaring that his Sub-

Subjects proceed unjustly; of which no body doubts but that all they who took up arms against the King, were guilty in the highest degree. And there is too much cause to fear, that the unhappy publication of this doctrine against the Liberty and propriety of the Subject (which others had the honor to declare before Mr. *Hobbes*, tho they had not the good fortune to escape punishment as he hath don, I mean Dr. *Manwaring*, and Dr. *Sibthorpe*) contributed too much thereunto. For let him take what pains he will to render those precious words unvaluable, and of no signification; a better Philosopher then he, and one who understood the rules of Government better, having lived under just such a Soveraign as Mr. *Hobbes* would set up, (I mean *Seneca*,) will be believed before him, who pronounces, *Errat siquis existimat tutum esse ibi Regem, ubi nihil à Rege tutum est; Securitas securitate mutua pacisceuda est.* And he go's very far himself towards the confessing this truth, when he is forced to acknowledg, (Pag. 96.) *That the riches, power, and honor of a Monarch, arise only from the riches, strength and reputation of his subjects; for no King can be rich, nor glorious, nor secure, whose subjects are either poor or contemtible*: which assertion will never be supported, by saying, that that condition shall be made good, and preserv'd to them by the justice and bounty of the Soveraign. For riches, and strength, and reputation are not aëry words, without a real and substantial signification, nor do consist so much in the present enjoying, especially if it shall depend upon the casual pleasure of any man, as in the security for the future, that being a mans properly, that cannot be ta-

ken from him, but in that manner, and by thoſe Rules, as are generally looked upon as the fundamentals of Government. And when he is tranſported by his paſſion and his appetite, and for making good his inſtitution, to cancel and tread under foot all thoſe known obligations, and make the precious terms of Property and Liberty abſurd and inſignificant words, to be blown away by the leaſt breath of his monſtrous Soveraign, without any violation of juſtice, or doing injury to thoſe he afflicts; I ſay, when he is thus warmed by the flame of his paſſions, which he confeſſes (Pag. 96.) *alwaies dazzles, never enlightens the underſtanding*, he is ſo puzled by his own notions, that he makes himſelf a way out by diſtinctions of his own modelling and deviſing: and ſo he is compell'd to acknowledg, that tho his illimited Soveraign, whatſoever he doth, can do no injury to his ſubjects, nor be by any of them accuſed of injuſtice, yet that he (p. 90.) *may commit iniquity, tho not injuſtice or injury in the proper ſignification*, which is far more unintelligible then the Beatifical viſion, for the obſcurity and abſurdity whereof he is ſo merry with the Scholemen.

As Mr. *Hobbes* his extraordinary and notorious ignorance in the Laws and conſtitution of the Government of *England* makes him a very incompetent Judg or informer of the cauſe or original of the late woful calamities in *England*, of which he knows no more then every other man of *Malmeſbury* doth, and upon which there will be other occaſion hereafter to inlarge; ſo his high arrogance and preſumtion that he doth underſtand them, makes him triumph in the obſervation, and wonder that ſo manifeſt a truth ſhould

of

of late be ſo little obſerved, That in a Monarchy, he that had the Soveraignty from a deſcent of ſix hundred years, was alone called Soveraign, had the title of Majeſty from every one of his Subjects, and was unqueſtionably taken by them for their King, was notwithſtanding never conſidered as their Repreſentative, that name without contradiction, paſſing for the title of thoſe men, which at his command were ſent up by the People to carry their Petitions, and give him, if he permitted it, their advice; which he ſaies (Pag. 95.) *may ſerve as an admonition for thoſe that are the true and abſolute Repreſentative of a People* (which he hath made his Soveraign to be) *to take heed how they admit of any other general Repreſentative upon any occaſion whatſoever*: all which is ſo unskilful and illiterate a ſuggeſtion, as could not fall into the conception of any man who is moderately verſed in the principles of Soveraignty. And if Mr. *Hobbes* did not make war againſt all modeſty, he would rather have concluded, that the title of the Repreſentative of the People was not to be affected by the King, then that for want of underſtanding his Majeſty ſhould neglect to aſſume it, or that his faithful Counſel, and his Learned Judges, who cannot be ſuppoſed to be ignorant of the Regalities of the Crown, ſhould fail to put him in mind of ſo advantageous a Plea, when his fundamental rights were ſo foully aſſaulted, and in danger. But tho the King knew too well the original of his own power, to be contented to be thought the Repreſentative of the People, yet if Mr. *Hobbes* were not ſtrangely unconverſant with the tranſactions of thoſe times, he would have known, which few men do not know, that the King

frequently, and upon all occasions reprehended the two Houses, both for assuming the Style and appellation of Parliament, which they were not, but in, and by his Majesties conjunction with them, and for calling themselves the Representative of the People, which they neither were, or could be to any other purpose then to present their Petitions, and humbly to offer their advice, when and in what his Majesty required it; and this was as generally understood by men of all conditions in *England*, as it was that Rebellion was Treason. But they who were able by false pretences, and under false protestations to raise an Army, found it no difficult matter to perswade that Army, and those who concurred with them, that they were not in rebellion.

The

The Survey of Chapter 19.

I Shall heartily concur with Mr. *Hobbes* in the preferance of Monarchy before all other kind of Government for the happiness of the people, which is the end of Government: and surely the people never enjoied (saving the delight they have in the word Equality, which in truth signifies nothing but keeping on their hats) Liberty or Property, or received the benefit of speedy and impartial Justice, but under a Monarch; but I must then advise that Monarch for his greatness and security, never so far to lessen himself as to be considered as the peoples Representative, which would make him a much less man then he is. His Majesty is inherent in his office, and neither one or other is conferred upon him by the people. Let those who are indeed the Deputies of the people, in those occasions upon which the Law allows them to make Deputies, be called their Representative; which term can have no other legitimate interpretation then the Law gives it, which must have more authority then any Dictionary that is, or shall be made by Mr. *Hobbes*, whose animadversion or admonition will never prevail with any Prince to change his Soveraign Title, for Representative of the people, and much the less for the pains which he hath taken (pag. 95.) *to instruct men in the nature of that Office*, and how he comes to be their Representative.

I cannot leave this Chapter without obſerving Mr. *Hobbes* his very officious care that *Cromwell* ſhould not fall from his greatneſs, and that his Country ſhould remain ſtill captive under the Tyranny of his vile Poſterity, by his ſo ſolemn Declarations, that he who is in poſſeſſion of the Soveraignty, tho by Election (Pag. 98.) *is obliged by the Law of nature to provide, by eſtabliſhing his Succeſſor, to keep thoſe that had truſted him with the Government, from relapſing into the miſerable condition of Civil war; and conſequently he was, when elected, a Soveraign abſolute.* And then he declares poſitively, contrary to the opinion of all the World, that (Pag. 100.) *by the inſtitution of Monarchy, the diſpoſing of the Succeſſor is alwaies left to the judgment and the will of the preſent poſſeſſor; and that if he declares expreſly that ſuch a man ſhall be his heir either by word or writing, then is that man immediately after the deceaſe of his predeteſſor inveſted in the right of being Monarch.* Mr. *Hobbes* was too modeſt a man to hope that his *Leviathan* would have power to perſwade thoſe of *Poland* to change their form of Government; and what *Denmark* hath gotten by having don it ſince, cannot in ſo ſhort a time be determin'd; or that the Emperor would diſſolve and cancel the Golden Bull, and inveſt his Poſterity in the Empire in ſpight of the Electors; or that the Papacy ſhould be made Hereditary, ſince *Ceſar Borgia* was ſo long ſince dead, and he had carried that ſpirit with him: and therefore I muſt appeal to all diſpaſſion'd men what Mr. *Hobbes* could have in his purpoſe in the year One thouſand ſix hundred fifty one, when this Book was printed, but by this new Doctrine ſcarcely heard

heard of it till then, to induce *Cromwell* to break all the Laws of his Country, and to perpetuate their slavery under his Progeny, in which he follow'd his advice to the utmost of his power, tho his Doctrine proved false and most detested. And tho Mr. *Hobbes*, by his presence of mind, and velocity of thought, which had inabled him to foresee the purpose of rebelling, and taking the King Prisoner, and delivering him up, from that question proposed to him, concerning the value of a *Roman* penny, might at that time discern so little possibility of his own Soveraign's recovery, that it might appear to him a kind of absurdity to wish it; yet methinks his own natural fear of danger, which made him fly out of *France*, assoon as his *Leviathan* was publish'd and brought into that Kingdom, should have terrified him from invading the right of all Hereditary Monarchies in the World, by declaring, that by the Law of Nature which is immutable, it is in the power of the present Soveraign to dispose of the succession, and to appoint who shall succeed him in the Government; and that the word *Heir* doth not of it self imply the Children or neerest Kindred of a man, but whom soever a man shall any way declare he would have succeed him; contrary to the known right and establishment throughout the World, and which would shake if not dissolve the Peace of all Kingdoms. Nor is there any danger of the dissolution of a Common-wealth by the not nominating a Successor; since it is a known maxime in all Hereditary Monarchies, That the King never dies, because in the minute of the exspiration of the present, his Heir succeeds him, and

is

is in the instant invested in all the dignities, and prehominences of which the other had bin possessed; and if there were no other error or false doctrine in the *Leviathan* (as there are very many of a very pernicious nature) that would be cause enough to suppress it in all Kingdoms.

The Survey of Chapter 20.

IT is modestly don of Mr. *Hobbes* at last, after so many Magisterial determinations of the institution of Soveraignty, and the rights and autority of it, and what is not it, to confess that all these Discourses (*pag.* 105.) are only *what he finds by speculation, and deduction of Soveraign Rights from the nature, needs, and designs of men in erecting of Commonwealths, and putting themselves under Monarchs, &c.* and therefore if he finds that all his speculation is positively contradicted by constant and uncontroverted practice, he will believe that his speculation is not, nor ought to be of autority enough to introduce new Laws and Rules of Government into the World. And it is high time for the Soveraign Power to declare, That it doth not approve those Doctrines, which may lessen the affections and tenderness of Princes towards their Subjects, and even their reverence to God himself, if they thought that they could change Religion, and suppress the Scripture it self, and that their power over their subjects is so absolute, that they give them all that they do not take from them; and that Property is but a word of no signification, and lessens the duty and obedience of Subjects, and makes them less love the constitution of the Government they live under; which may prove so destructive to them, if they have temtation from their passions or their appetite to exercise the Autority they justly have. It is fit

there-

therefore that all men know, that theſe are only his ſpeculations, and not the clame of Soveraign Power.

It had bin to be wiſhed, that Mr. *Hobbes* had firſt taken the pains to have inform'd himſelf of the power and autority exerciſed by Elective Princes over their Subjects, and their ſubmiſſion rendred to them by their ſubjects, before he had ſo poſitively determin'd, that Elective Kings are non Soveraigns, at leaſt that he had given a better reaſon for his aſſertion. He that hath ſupreme autority over all, and againſt whom there is no Appeal, may very juſtly and lawfully be called a Soveraign. And if he would enquire into the autority of the Emperor, in the proper Dominion of the Empire, he would find that he hath as Soveraign a power as any Prince in Chriſtendom clames, and yet he is Elective. And it is a more extravagant ſpeculation to conclude, That becauſe the Electors have the abſolute power to chuſe the Emperor, that the Soveraignty is in them before they chuſe him, and that they may keep it to themſelves if they think good, becauſe none have a right to give that which they have no right to poſſeſs; when it is known to all the World that the Electors have a right to chuſe the Emperor, and yet that till they have choſen him, the Soveraignty is not in them, nor that they can poſſeſs it themſelves, and chuſe whether they will give it to another; and that when they have choſen him, he is a Soveraign Prince, and ſuperior to all thoſe who have choſen him, by all the marks of Soveraignty which are known in practice, tho not poſſibly in ſpeculation. And he knows well there is another Soveraign Prince greater then the Emperor, and almoſt as great as he would have his Soveraign to be, in the extent

tent of his power, who is likewise Elective, and that is the Pope; and that the Conclave cannot retain that Soveraignty to themselves, but having by their Election conferr'd it upon him, he is thereby become as absolute a Monarch as Mr. *Hobbes* can wish. And truly, if he would rectifie his speculations, that is, his conceptions and imaginations, by examining those of other men (a fatal neglect he hath bin guilty of throughout his whole life) he could hardly have avoided the knowing, that on every *Michaelmas* day the whole commom People of *London* chuse the Lord Major, and yet the Office is not in them till they do chuse him, tho his Predecessor were dead, nor can they keep it to themselves, and so they can give that which they cannot possess, which is diametrically contrary to his speculation, which would likewise have bin controlled by all Elections of the Kingdom.

He might have saved himself much labor (since he agrees that a Soveraign by acquisition, which is somwhat we understand, hath the same full Soveraignty with his other by institution) if he had spar'd all that which is mere speculation, and I will gratifie him, by not insisting upon the Paternal Dominion, otherwise then as it must be confessed to be the original of Monarchy, because we will do the Mother no wrong, who is so meet a help in the generation. And before I proceed further upon this Argument, to which I will presently return, I must lament in this place Mr. *Hobbes*'s so positive determining a point of Justice, in which he could have no experience, and against all the practice of the Christian World, (*pag.* 104.) *that he who hath Quarter granted him in War, hath not his life given, but deferred*

and till further deliberation: which Doctrine, found only as he confesses by speculation, served to confirm that Tyrannical Power in a Judgment they had given, when three great and noble Persons, who were Prisoners of War, were contrary to all form and rule condemn'd to be murder'd; which Sentence was barbarously executed, and afterwards recited upon others, the rather probably upon his speculative determination.

And since we are now come to that Chapter of Dominion Paternal and Despotical, in which he discourses of his Government by acquisition, which he will have by force; or by institution, which he calls by consent, and confesses, that the rights and consequences of Sovereignty are the same in both; it may not (I conceive) be unseasonable to state, and lay down that Scheme of Government, which men reasonably believe was originally instituted, and the progress and alterations which were afterwards made, and all those Covenants, Promises, and Conditions which were annexed to it, and by the observation of which it hath always acquired strength and lustre, and when impair'd, when endeavours have been used to extend it beyond its bounds and just limits, and to make it more absolute, then is consistent with the Peace and Happiness of the People, which was, and is the end of its Institution. And in the first place we must deny, as we have hitherto done, Mr. *Hobbes* his ground-work, upon which, with many ill consequences even from thence, his foundation is supported, and that is, That War is founded in Nature, which gives the strongest a right to whatever the weaker is possessed of, so that there can be no peace, or security from oppression,

till such Covenants are made, as may appoint a Sovereign to have all that power which is necessary to provide for that peace and security; and out of, and by this Institution, his Magistrate grows up to the greatness and size of his *Leviathan*. But we say, that Peace is founded in nature, and that when the God of nature gave his Creature, Man, the dominion over the rest of his Creation, he gave him likewise natural strength and power to govern the World with peace and order: and how much soever he lost by his own integrity, by falling from his obedience to his Creator, and how severe a punishment soever he under-went by that his disobedience, it do's not appear that his dominion over Mankind was in any degree lessened or abated, so that we can not but look upon him, during his life, as the sole Monarch of the World: and that lasted so long, as we may reasonably compute, that a very considerable part of the World, that was peopled before the Flood, was peopled in his life, *since it lasted upon the point of two parts of thirteen*: so that his Dominion was over a very numerous People. And during all that time, we have no reason to imagine that there was any such Instrument of Government by Covenants and Contracts, as is contain'd in this Institution. And yet we do acknowledge, that he was by nature fully possessed of all that *plenitudo potestatis*, which doth of right belong to a Magistrate: and we may very reasonably believe, having no color to think the contrary, that his Son *Seth*, who was born a hundred and thirty years after him, and lived above a hundred years after he was dead, govern'd his descendants with the same absolute Dominion, which might well be continued under his Successor to the

very time of the Flood: for we may very reasonably believe that *Noah* conversed with *Seth*, since it is evident they lived one hundred years together in the same Age. Nor have we the least color to believe that there was either Sedition or Civil War before the Flood, their rebellion against God in a universal exercise of Idolatry, which implies a general consent amongst themselves, being in the opinion of most Learned Men, the crying Sin that provoked God to drown the World.

After the Flood, we cannot but think that *Noah* remain'd the sole Monarch of the World during his life, according to that model with which he had bin very well acquainted for the space of five hundred years; and he lived long enough after to see a very numerous increase of his Children and Subjects; who after his death, when the multiplication was very great, came from the East into the Land of *Shinar*, the pleasant vally of *Shinar*, where God, in the beginning, had plac'd the Father of Mankind, *Adam*; and Learned men are of opinion, that the great and principal end of the building of *Babel*, over and above the high Tower for their fame and renown to posterity, was, that they intended it for the Metropolis of an Universal Monarchy: for little doubt there was yet made of an entire subjection and obedience. Sure we are, that the Generations of *Noah*, when Mankind was exceedingly increas'd, did divide the Nations in the Earth; and Mr. *Mead* assures us, that the word which we translate *divided*, signifies not *a scattering*, or any thing of confusion, but a *meer distinct partition*. So that this great division of the Earth being perform'd in this method and order, there is no room for the imagination and

dream of such an irregular and confus'd dispersion, that every man went whither he listed, and setled himself where he liked best, from whence that Institution of Government might arise which Mr. *Hobbes* fancies. Under this Division, we of the Western World have reason to believe our selves of the posterity of *Japheth*, and that our Progenitors did as well know under what Government they were to live, as what portion they were to possess: and we have that blessing of *Japheth*, that God would inlarge him into the Tents of *Shem*, and that *Cham* should be his servant, to assure and confirm us, that the Inundation, which almost cover'd us, of the *Goths* and *Vandals* from *Scythia*, and other Northern Nations (whose original habitations we cannot to this day find) were not of the Children of *Cham*, which we might otherwise have suspected.

As Mankind encreas'd, and the age of man grew less, so that they did not live to see so great a Progeny issue out of their own loins as formerly, and their subjects growing less, their kindred also grew at so great a distance, that the account of their relations was not so easily or so carefully preserv'd; hereby they who had the Soveraign Powers exercis'd less of the Paternal Affection in their Government, and look'd upon those they govern'd as their mere subjects, not as their Allies, and by degrees, according to the custom of exorbitant Power, considering only the extent of their own Jurisdiction, and what they might do, they treated those who were under them not as Subjects, but as slaves, who having no right to any thing but what they gave them, would allow them to possess nothing but what they had no mind to have themselves. Estates they had none that they could call

their own, becauſe when their Soveraign call'd for them, they were his; their perſons were at his command, when he had either occaſion or appetite to uſe them, and their Children inherited nothing but the ſubjection of their Parents: ſo that they were happy or miſerable, as he who had the power and command over them exerciſed that power with more or leſs rigor or indulgence, they ſubmitting to both, acknowledging the dominion to be naturally abſolute, and their ſubjection and obedience to be as natural. Kings had not long delighted themſelves with this exorbitant exerciſe of their power (for tho the power had bin ſtill the ſame, the exerciſe of it had bin very moderate, whil'ſt there remain'd the tenderneſs or memory of any relation) but they begun to diſcern (according to their faculties of diſcerning, as their parts were better or worſe) that the great ſtrength they ſeem'd to be poſſeſs'd of, muſt in a ſhort time end in abſolute weakneſs, and the plenty they ſeem'd to enjoy, would become exceeding want and beggary; that no man would build a Houſe that his Children ſhould not inherit, nor cultivate Land with good husbandry and expence, the fruit and profit whereof might be taken by another man; that whil'ſt their ſubjects did not enjoy the convenience and delight of life, they could not be ſure of the affection and help of them, when they ſhould enter into a difference with one who is as abſolute as themſelves; but they would rather chuſe to be ſubject to him, whoſe Subjects liv'd with more ſatisfaction under him; in a word, that whil'ſt they engroſs'd all power, and all wealth into their own hands, they ſhould find none who would defend them in the poſſeſſion of it; and that there is great difference between the ſubjection that love and diſcretion paies,

and

and that which results only from fear and force, and that despair puts an end to that duty, which nature and it may be Conscience too, would still perswade them to pay, and to continue, and therefore that it was necessary that the subjects should find profit and comfort in obeying, as well as Kings pleasure in commanding. These wise and wholsom Reflexions prevail with Princes for their own benefit to restrain themselves, to make their Power less absolute, that it might be more useful, to give their Subjects a property that should not be invaded but in such cases, and with such and such circumstances, and a liberty that should not be restrain'd, but upon such terms as they could not but think reasonable. And as they found the benefit to grow from those condescentions in the improvement of Civility, and those additions of delight which makes Life and Government the more pleasant, they inlarg'd the Graces and Concessions to their Subjects, reserving all in themselves which they did not part with by their voluntary Grants and Promises. And if we take a view of the several Kingdoms of the World, we shall see another manner of beauty, glory and lustre in those Governments, where those condescentions, concessions, and contracts have bin most or best observ'd, then in those Dominions where the Soveraigns retain to themselves all the Rights and Prerogatives which are invested in them by the original nature of Government, upon which we shall inlarge hereafter.

This is the original and pedigree of Government, equally different from that which the levelling fancy of some men would reduce their Soveraign to, upon an imagination that Princes have no autority or power but what was originally given them by the

People, and that it cannot be presumed that they would give them so much as might be applied to their own destruction, and from that which Mr. *Hobbes* hath instituted, by framing formal Instruments by which an assembly of man-kind (which was never heard of, nor can be conceiv'd practicable) hath devolv'd from themselves into one Man of their own choice, an absolute Power by their own consent, to exercise it in such a manner as to his pleasure is agreeable, without the observation of the common rules of Justice or Sobriety; whereas it cannot be imagin'd possible in nature, that ever such an assembly of men of equal autority in themselves, will ever agree to make one Man their Soveraign with such an absolute Jurisdiction over the rest, as must devest them of all property as well as power for the future; and whereas in truth all power was by God and Nature invested into one Man, where still as much of it remains as he hath not parted with, and shar'd with others, for the good and benefit of those (and the mutual security of both) for whose benefit it was first intrusted to him; the rest, which is enough, remains still in him, and may be applied to the preservation of the whole, against the fancies of those who think he hath nothing but what they have given him, and likewise against those who believe that so much is given him, that he hath power to leave no body else any thing to enjoy; the last of which are no less enemies to Monarchy then the former.

I am very unwilling to enter into the lists with Mr. *Hobbes* upon the interpretation of Scriptures, which he handles as imperiously as he doth a Text of *Aristotle*, putting such unnatural interpretation on the words, as hath not before fallen into the thoughts

of

of any other man, and drawing very unnatural inferences from them; insomuch as no man can think he is really in earnest, when, to prove that the Kings word is sufficient to take any thing from any Subject when there is need, and that the King is Judge of that need, he alledges the example of our Saviour, who, he saies, as King of the Jews (p. 106.) *commanded his Disciples to take the Asses Colt to carry him to Jerusalem*, which he saies the owner permitted, *and did not ask whether his necessity was a sufficient title, nor whether he was Judg of that necessity, but did acquiesce in the will of the Lord*: which is a very bold and ungrave wresting of Scripture to purposes it could not intend; since our Saviour did not profess to do one act as King of the Jews, but declar'd *that his kingdom was not of this world*. And at that time he told the Messengers who were sent for the Ass, that if they were ask'd what they meant by it, they should answer, that the Lord had need of him, upon which he knew, and he said, that they would let him go, and upon that he grounded their Commission. If the owner would not permit them to take it, the Messengers had no autority to have brought them to him. And his inference from, and the glos he makes upon the question that God asked of Adam, (p. 106.) *Hast thou eaten?* hath as little warrant from that text, as the other improper instance of our Saviour. And sure when Mr. *Hobbes* thought fit by this example of our Saviour in this place to wrest all property from the Subject, he did not intend in any other place so far to devest him of any autority, that men were not *bound to believe any thing he said, or to do any thing he commanded, because he had no Commission which required obedience*,

his Kingdom being not yet of this world. So unwary he is in the contradicting himself; as all men are, who first resolve what they are to prove, before they consider what it is that is true.

We are not obliged, nor indeed have any reason to believe, that God was offended with the Children of Israel for desiring a King, which was a Government himself had instituted over them, and to which they had bin long accustomed, and had undergon much misery, and confusion whilst there was no King in Israel; but for their mutinous manner of asking it, and the reason they gave for it, that they might be like other nations, which God had taken all possible care that they should not be, and enjoined them to learn nothing of them. And the description, which *Samuel* made of the exorbitant power of Kings, which indeed the Kings of the Nations did exercise, by whose example they desir'd to be govern'd, was rather to terrify them from pursuing their foolish demand, then to constitute such a Prerogative as the King should use whom God would appoint to go in and out before them; which methinks is very manifest, in that the worst Kings that ever reign'd over them, never challeng'd, or assum'd those Prerogatives. Nor did the people conceive themselves liable to those impositions, as appears by the application they made to *Rehoboam* upon the death of *Solomon*, that he would abate some of that rigor his Father had exercised towards them, the rough rejection of which, contrary to the advice of his wisest Counsellors, cost him the greater part of his Dominions: and when *Rehoboam* would by Arms have reduc'd them to obedience, God would not suffer him, because he had bin in the fault himself.

I am willing to take an occasion in this place to wish, that no better Divines than *Mr. Hobbes* had, from this place in *Samuel*, presum'd very unwarrantably to draw inferences, to lessen the Subjects reverence and obedience to Kings, and to raise a prejudice and disesteem in Kings towards their Subjects, as people whose affections and good Will are of no use to them, since they can present nothing to them that is their own, nor have any thing to give, but what they may take from them; which two very different rather then contrary conclusions, too many Divines (and some of parts) according to their several inclinations and appetites, have presumed to wrest from that place of Scripture; the one party of them, as is said before, endeavouring maliciously to render Monarchy odious and insupportable, by the unlimited affections, and humors, and pretences, and power of a single uncontroulable person; the other believing as unreasonably, that the dispositions, natures, and hearts of the people, cannot be appli'd to the necessary obedience towards their Princes, nor their reverence and duty be so well fix'd and devoted to them, as by thinking that they have nothing of their own, but whatsoever they enjoy they have only by the bounty of the King, who can take it from them when he pleases: and to this last party Mr. *Hobbes* his speculation hath for the present disposed him to adhere, tho in any other particular opinion he doth not concur with any Divine of any Church in Christendom. For the first, whoever doth well consider the wonderful confused Government that was exercised over the Children of Israel from the death of *Joshua*, when the Monarchy was interrupted, under the Judges for the space of a-

bove three hundred years, the barbarous negligence in the instruction of the people in the knowledg of God, and of their duty to him, insomuch that the very next generation after the death of *Joshuah* had lost, or was without the whole History of what God had don for them, and of what he expected from them; so unfaithful a guide, or remembrancer is Tradition, when the Scripture it self is not to be found: I say, whoever considers likewise the quality, and talent, and humor of many of the very Judges who had bin over them, as the repeted Acts of indiscretion and folly in *Sampson*, which could not but make his judgment to be in the less reverence, & the strength of his arms to be more admir'd then that of his head; with the present state they were then in under the Sons of *Samuel*, who were no better then the Sons of *Ely* had bin, will not perhaps so very much blame them for desiring a King: and tho the manner of their asking it might, as hath bin said, offend *Samuel*, and in some degree displease God; yet he might not be offended absolutely with the thing it self, since it was no more then God himself had in a manner prescrib'd to them, as well as foretold, without any kind of disapprobation. *When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee*; &c, *and shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as all the Nations which are about me, Thou shalt in any wise set him a King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall chuse.* Deut. 17. 4, 15, 16, 17. God was well content that they should have a King, but reserv'd the election of him to himself: he would have no transferring of rights, or covenanting for one another, he would chuse his own Representative. Nor amongst all the customes of the Nations, which he

forbid

forbid them to follow, did God ever ſhew the leaſt diſlike of their Government by Kings, which had bin inſtituted originally by himſelf, and probably bin continued by them even from the time of the inſtitution, however their manners were degenerated, and the knowledg of him totally forgotten. And in what degree of grace and favor that high calling hath bin ever ſince with him, appears by the mention of them throughout the whole current of Scripture, by the Prerogatives he hath granted to them, and by his imparting to them even his own appellation.

They who will in the next place, deduce the extent of that abſolute and illimited power of Kings from that declaration by *Samuel*, which indeed ſeems to leave neither Property, or Liberty in their ſubjects, and could be only intended by *Samuel* to terrify them from that mutinous and ſeditious clamor, ſince it hath no foundation from any other part of Scripture, nor was ever practic'd or exercis'd by any good King who ſucceeded over them, and was bleſſed, and approv'd by God. And therefore when thoſe State Empirics, of what degree or quality ſoever, will take upon them to preſcribe a new diet and exerciſe to Soveraign Princes, and invite them to aſſume new powers and prerogatives over the people, by the Precepts, Warrants, and Preſcriptions of the Scripture, they ſhould not preſume to make the ſacred writ ſubject to their own private fancies. And if according to the more authentic method of interpreting doubtful places, they had recourſe to that place, where the ſame matter is firſt handled, they would then have found, by reforting to the before mention'd place in Deuteronomy, another

ther kind of Scheme for the power, and government of Kings. There, when God intended that they ſhould be governed by a King whom he would himſelf chuſe, he preſcrib'd what he ſhould not do, and what he ſhould do. *He ſhould not multiply Horſes to himſelf*, &c. which only concern'd that people, that they might have no temtation to return to Egypt, *He ſhall henceforth no more return that way* &c. *Nor ſhall he multiply Weives*, &c. The multiplying of Wives ſeem'd to be permitted, yet he was to have a care that the number of them did not turn his heart away. *Nor ſhould he greatly multiply unto himſelf Silver, and Gold*, &c. not ſo affect, and ſet his heart upon being rich, as to be temted to oppreſs his Subjects, or to injure his Neighbors; and ſo far the negative directed. Then for the affirmative, *That he ſhould write a copy of the Law in a Book*, &c. Deut. 17. 18, 19, 20. *that it ſhould be with him, and he ſhould read therein all the daies of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of the Law, and theſe Statutes to do them; that his heart be not lifted up, and that he turn not aſide from the Commandment to the right hand, or to the left*; and from this Text the *Rabbins* concluded, that he was to write a Book of the Law for himſelf, and if he had none before he was King, he was obliged aſſoon as he was King to have two, one whereof he was to have alwaies with him, *ſive cum vadit ad prælium, ſive cum ſedet in judicio, aut in menſa, &c.* Thoſe were the injunctions which God preſcrib'd to his King, and were obſerv'd by all thoſe who were bleſs'd and approv'd by him; for *David* ſeems by the words of *Nathan* to have ſome particular allowance for the great number of his Wives, and his multiply-

ing

ing gold, and silver, was for the building of the Temple, and no private use of his own; and *Solomons* excessive greatness, was from the immediate bounty of God himself; but he no sooner violated those Precepts, and exceeded that moderation that was prescrib'd to him towards his Subjects, and with reference to the multiplying Wives, then his heart turn'd away from God, and God turn'd away from him.

This pleasant suggestion by which he would discountenance that importunate and impertinent demand of an example of such a Government as he would institute, that tho *in all places of the world men should lay the foundation of their houses in sand, it could not thence be infer'd that so it ought to be*, will never perswade men to change a Government they have bin for many hundred years happy under (tho with some vicissitudes of fortune) for an imaginary Government by his Rules of Arithmetic and Geometry, of which no Nation hath ever yet had the experiment: and if there be any Country where is a Sand of that nature, that hath supported the greatest edifices for hundreds of years, against all the storms of wind, and rage of tempests, he shall be much too nice and scrupulous a person, who will by any Rules of Architecture forbear to build his House there, because he will not lay his foundation upon Sand, which by experience is found to be of equal firmness with a Rock.

The

The Survey of Chapter 21.

MR. *Hobbes* is ſo great an enemy to freedom, that he will not allow Man that which God hath given him, the Freedom of his Will; but he ſhall not entangle me in that Argument, which he hath enough exercis'd himſelf in with a more equal Adverſary, who I think hath bin much too hard for him at his own weapon, Reaſon, the Learned Biſhop of *Derry*, who was afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, and by which he hath put him into greater choler then a Philoſopher ought to ſubject himſelf to, the terrible ſtrokes whereof I am not willing to undergo, and therefore ſhall keep my ſelf cloſe to that freedom and liberty only that is due to Subjects, and of which, his buſineſs in this Chapter, is to deprive them totally.

A man would have expected from Mr. *Hobbes*'s Inventory of the ſeveral rights and powers of his Soveraign in his eighteenth Chapter, of which one was to prefcribe Rules (*pag.* 91.) *whereby every man might know what goods he may enjoy, and what actions he might do, without being moleſted by any of his fellow Subjects*, which he ſaies, *Men call Propriety*, that ſome ſuch Rule ſhould be eſtabliſhed as might ſecure that Propriety, how little ſoever: but he hath now better explain'd himſelf, and finds, that Liberty and Property are only fences againſt the Invaſion or force of fellow Subjects, but towards the Soveraign of no uſe or ſignification at all. No man hath a Pro-

priety

priety in any thing, that can reſtrain the King from taking it from him, and the liberty of a Subject (*pag.* 109.) *lieth only in thoſe things, which in regulating their actions, the Soveraign hath prætermitted; ſuch as is the liberty to buy and ſell, and otherwiſe contract with one another; to chuſe their own abode, their own diet, their own trade of life, and to inſtitute their children as they think fit, and the like.* I wonder he did not inſert the liberty to wear his Clothes of that faſhion which he likes beſt, which is as important as moſt of his other Conceſſions. And yet he ſeems to be jealous, that even this liberty ſhould make men imagine, that the Soveraign power ſhould be in any degree limited, or that any thing he can do to a Subject, and upon what pretence ſoever, may be called injuſtice or injury, the contrary whereof he ſaies he hath ſhewed already; for he takes it as granted, that all that he hath ſaid he hath proved: and if he hath not, he hath don it now ſubſtantially by the example of *Jepthah*, in cauſing his daughter to be ſacrific'd (of which he is not ſure) and by *David's* killing *Uriah*, which he ſaies, tho it was againſt equity, yet it was not an injury to *Uriah*, becauſe the right was given him by *Uriah*, which I dare ſwear *Uriah* never knew he had don. And by ſuch unnatural Arguments he would perſwade men to be willing to be undon; very like thoſe which the *Stoicks* as obſtinately maintain'd, That a wiſe man could not be injur'd, becauſe he was not capable nor ſenſible of it. But I wonder more, that he doth not diſcern what every other man cannot but diſcern, that by his ſo liberal taking away, he hath not left the Subject any thing to enjoy even of thoſe narrow conceſſions which he hath made to him. For how

can any man believe that he hath liberty to buy and ſell, when the Soveraign power can preſently take away what he hath ſold, from him who hath bought it, and conſequently no man can ſell or buy to any purpoſe? Who can ſay that he can chuſe his own abode, or his own trade of life, or any thing, when aſſoon as he hath choſen either, he ſhall be requir'd to go to a place where he hath no mind to go, and to do ſomwhat he would not chuſe to do? for his perſon is no more at his own diſpoſal then his goods are; ſo that he may as graciouſly retain to himſelf all that he hath granted.

Whether the Soveraign Power or the Liberty of the Subject receive the greater injury and prejudice by this brief ſtate and deſcription he makes of the no-liberty, that is, the portion he leaves to the Subject, would be a great queſtion, if he had not bin pleas'd himſelf to determine, that his Subject (for God forbid that any other Prince ſhould have ſuch a Subject) is not capable of an injury; by which the whole miſchief is like to fall upon the Soveraign. And what greater miſchief and ruine can threaten the greateſt Prince, then that their Subjects ſhould believe, that all the liberty they have, conſiſts only in thoſe things which the Soveraign hath hitherto pretermitted, that is, which he hath not yet taken from them, but when he pleaſes in regulating their actions to determine the contrary, they ſhall then have neither liberty to buy or ſell, nor to contract with each other, to chuſe their own abode, their own diet, their own trade of life, or to breed their own children; and to make their miſery compleat, and their life as little their own as the reſt, that nothing the Soveraign can do to his ſubject, on what

pre-

pretence ſoever, as well in order to the taking away his Life as his Eſtate, can be called injuſtice or injury, I ſay, what greater inſecurity can any Prince be in or under, then to depend upon ſuch Subjects? And alas! what ſecurity to himſelf or them can the Sword in his hand be, if no other hand be lift up on his behalf, or the Swords in all other hands be directed againſt him, that he may not cut off their heads when he hath a mind to it? And it is not Mr. *Hobbes*'s autority that will make it believ'd, that he who deſires more liberty, demands an exemtion from all Laws, by which all other men may be maſters of their lives; and that every Subject is author of every act the Soveraign doth, upon the extravagant ſuppoſition of a conſent that never was given; and if it were poſſible to have bin given, muſt have bin void at the inſtant it was given, by Mr. *Hobbes*'s own rules, as ſhall be made out in its place. He himſelf confeſſes, (*pag.* 295.) and ſaies it is evident to the meaneſt capacities, that *mens actions are deriv'd from the opinions they have of the good and evil which from thoſe actions redound unto themſelves, and conſequently men that are once poſſeſſed of an opinion that their obedience to the Soveraign power will be more hurtful to them then their diſobedience, will diſobey the Laws, and thereby over-throw the Common-wealth, and introduce confuſion and civil War, for the avoiding whereof, all civil Government was ordained.* If this be true, (as there is no reaſon to believe it to be) is it poſſible that any man can believe, that the People, for we ſpeak not of convincing the Philoſophers and the Mathematicians, but of the general affections of the People, which muſt diſpoſe them to obedience, that they can be perſwaded by a long train of Conſe-

ſequences, from the nature of man, and the end of Government, and the inſtitution thereof by Contracts and Covenants, of which they never heard, to believe that it is beſt for them to continue in the ſame nakedneſs in which they were created, for fear their clothes may be ſtoln from them, and that they have parted with their liberty to ſave their lives? There is no queſtion, but of all calamities the calamity of War is greateſt, and the rage and uncharitableneſs of civil War moſt formidable of all War. Indeed forreign War ſeldom deſtroies a Nation without domeſtic Combinations and Conſpiracies, which makes a complication with civil War; and ſure nothing can more inevitably produce that, then an univerſal opinion in the People, that their Soveraign can take from them all they have whenever he hath a mind to it, and their lives too, without any injuſtice, and conſequently that their obedience to him will be more hurtful to them then their diſobedience; ſo well hath he provided for the ſecurity of his Soveraign, if his doctrine were believ'd.

Mr. *Hobbes* is too much converſant in both thoſe learned Languages, to wiſh that the Weſtern World were depriv'd of the Greek and Latine Tongues, for any miſchief they have don, and upon my conſcience, whatever errors may have bin brought into Philoſophy by the autority of *Ariſtotle*, no man ever grew a Rebel by reading him; and if the greateſt Monarch that hath ever bin in the World, except the Monarch of the World, had thought his Tutor *Ariſtotle* had bin ſo great an enemy to Monarchy (yet he knew he was born and bred in a Republick) and that his Works contribute ſo much to ſedition, as Mr. *Hobbes* ſuppoſes, he would not have valued

his

his Perſon ſo much, nor read his Works with ſuch diligence as he did. And if Mr. *Hobbes* would take a view of the Inſurrections, and the civil Wars which have at any time bin ſtirr'd up in the Weſtern parts, he will not find that they have bin contriv'd or fomented by men who had ſpent much time in the reading Greek and Latin Authors, or that they have bin carried on upon the Maxims and Principles which they found there. *Jack Straw* and *Wat Tyler*, whoſe Inſurrection, in reſpect of the numbers and the progreſs it made, was as dangerous as hath happened in any Age or Climate, had never read *Ariſtotle* or *Cicero*; and I believe, had Mr. *Hobbes* bin of this opinion when he taught *Thucydides* to ſpeak Engliſh, which Book contains more of the Science of Mutiny and Sedition, and teaches more of that Oratory that contributes thereunto, then all that *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* have publiſh'd in all their Writings; he would not have communicated ſuch materials to his Country-men. But if this new Philoſophy, and Doctrine of Policy and Religion ſhould be introduc'd, taught, and believ'd, where *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* have don no harm, it would undermine Monarchy more in two months, then thoſe two great men have don ſince their deaths; and men would reaſonably wiſh, that the Author of it had never bin born in the Engliſh Climate, nor bin taught to write and read.

It is a very hard matter for an Architect in State and Policy, who doth deſpiſe all Precedents, and will not obſerve any Rules of practice, to make ſuch a model of Government as will be in any degree pleaſant to the Governor, or governed, or ſecure for either; which Mr. *Hobbes* finds, and tho' he takes

takes a liberty to raiſe his Model upon a ſuppoſition of a very formal Contract, that never was, or ever can be in nature, and hath the drawing and preparing his own form of Contract, is forc'd to allow ſuch a latitude in obedience to his ſubject, as ſhakes the very pillars of his Government. And therefore, tho he be contented that by the words of his Contract, (*pag.* 112.) *Kill me, and my fellow if you pleaſe*, the abſolute power of all mens lives ſhall be ſubmitted to the diſpoſal of the Governors will and pleaſure, without being oblig'd to obſerve any rules of Juſtice and Equity; yet he will not admit into his Contract the other words, (*pag.* 112.) *I will kill my ſelf, or my fellow*, and therefore that he is not bound by the command of his Soveraign to execute any dangerous or diſhonorable office; but in ſuch caſes, men are not to reſort ſo much to the words of the ſubmiſſion, as to the intention: which Diſtinction ſurely may be as applicable to all that monſtrous autority which he gives his Governor to take away the Lives and Eſtates of his Subjects, without any cauſe or reaſon, upon an imaginary Contract, which if never ſo real, can never be ſuppoſed to be with the intention of the Contractor in ſuch caſes. And the ſubtle Diſtinctions he finds out to excuſe Subjects from yielding obedience to their Soveraigns, and the Prerogative he grants to fear, for a whole Army to run away from the Enemy without the guilt of treachery or injuſtice, leaves us ſome hope, that he will at laſt allow ſuch a liberty to Subjects, that they may not in an inſtant be ſwallowed up by the prodigious power which he pleaſes to grant to his Soveraign. And truly, he degrades him very diſ-honorably, when he obliges him to be the Hang-man himſelf, of all thoſe Male-

Malefactors, which by the Law are condemn'd to die; for he gives every man autority, without the violation of his duty, or ſwerving from the rules of Juſtice, abſolutely to refuſe to perform that office. Nor hath he provided much better for his ſecurity, then he hath for his honor, when he allows it lawful for any number of men, (*pag.* 112.) *who have rebelled againſt the Soveraign, or committed ſome capital crime, for which every one of them expects death, then to join together, and defend each other, becauſe they do but defend their lives, which the guilty man,* he ſaies, *may do as well as the innocent.* And ſurely, no man can legally take his life from him who may lawfully defend it; and then the murderer, or any other perſon guilty of a capital Crime, is more innocent, and in a better condition then the Executioner of Juſtice, who may be juſtly murdered in the juſt execution of his office. And it is a very childiſh ſecurity that he provides for his Soveraign againſt this Rebellion, and defence of themſelves againſt the power of the Law, (*pag.* 113.) that he declares *it to be lawful only for the defence of their lives, and that upon the offer of pardon for themſelves, that ſelf-defence is unlawful:* as if a body that is lawfully drawn together, with ſtrength enough to defend their lives againſt the power of the Law, are like to disband and lay down their Arms, without other benefit and advantage then only of the ſaving of their lives. But tho he be ſo cruel as to deveſt his Subjects of all that liberty, which the beſt and moſt peaceable men deſire to poſſeſs, yet he liberally and bountifully confers upon them ſuch a liberty as no honeſt man can pretend to, and which is utterly inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of Prince and People; which unreaſonable Indulgence of his,

can-

cannot but be thought to proceed from an unlawful affection to those who he saw had power enough to defend the transcendent wickedness they had committed, tho they were without an Advocate to make it lawful for them to do so, till he took that office upon him in his *Leviathan*, as is evident by the instance he gives in the next Paragraph, that he thinks it lawful for every man to have as many wives as he pleases, if the King will break the silence of the Law, and declare that he may do so; which is a Prerogative he vouchsafes to grant to the Soveraign, to balance that liberty he gave to the Subject to defend himself and his companion against him, and is the only power that may inable him to be too hard for the other.

If Mr. *Hobbes* did not believe that the autority of his Name, and the pleasantness of his Style, would lull men asleep from enquiring into the Logic of his Discourse, he could not but very well discern himself, that this very liberty which he allows the Subject to have, and which he doth without scruple enjoy, to sue the Soveraign, and to demand the hearing of his Cause, and that Sentence be given according to the Law, results only from that condescention and contract which the Soveraign hath made with his Subject, and which can as well secure many other Liberties to them, as their power to sue the King; for there could be no Law precedent to that resignation of themselves and all they had, at the institution of their supreme Governor; and if there had bin, it had bin void and invalid, it being not possible that any man who hath right to nothing, and from whom any thing that he hath may be taken away, can sue his Soveraign for a debt which he might

might take, if it were due from any other man but can by no means be due from him to whom all belongs, and who hath power to forbid any Judg to proceed upon that complaint, or any other perſon to preſume to make that complaint, were it not for the ſubſequent contract which he calls a precedent Law, by which the Soveraign promiſes, and obliges himſelf to appoint Judges to exerciſe Juſtice even where himſelf is party, and that he will be ſued before thoſe Judges, if he doth not pay what he ow's to his Subjects. This is the Contract which gives that capacity of ſuing, and which by his own conſent and condeſcention leſſens his Soveraignty, that his Subjects may require Juſtice from him. And yet all theſe promiſes, and leſſenings, he pronounces as void, and to amount to contradictions, that muſt diſſolve the whole Soveraign power, and leave the people in confuſion and war. Whereas the truth is, theſe condeſcentions, and voluntary abatements of ſome of that original power that was in them, have drawn a cheerful ſubmiſſion, and bin attended by a ready obedience to Soveraignty, from the time that Subjects have bin at ſo great a diſtance from being conſider'd as Children, and that Soveraigns have bin without thoſe natural tenderneſſes in the exerciſe of their power, and which in the rigor of it could never have bin ſupported. And where theſe obligations are beſt obſerv'd, Soveraignty flouriſhes with the moſt luſtre, and ſecurity, Kings having ſtill all the power remaining in them, that they have not themſelves parted with, and releas'd to their Subjects, and their Subjects having no pretence to more liberty or power then the King hath granted and given to them: and both their happineſs, and ſecu-

rity conſiſts in containing themſelves within their own limits, that is, Kings not to affect the recovery of that exorbitant power, which their Anceſtors wiſely parted with, as well for their own as the peoples benefit; and Subjects to rejoice in thoſe liberties which have bin granted to them, and not to wiſh to leſſen the power of the King, which is not greater then is neceſſary for their own preſervation. And to ſuch a wholſom diviſion, and communication of power as this is, that place of Scripture (with which Mr. *Hobbes* is ſtill too bold) *a Kingdom divided in it ſelf cannot ſtand*, cannot be appli'd.

But that this Supreme Soveraign, whom he hath inveſted with the whole property and liberty of all his Subjects, and ſo inveſted him in it, that he hath not power to part with any of it by promiſe, or donation, or releaſe, may not be too much exalted with his own greatneſs, he hath humbled him ſufficiently, by giving his Subjects leave to withdraw their obedience from him when he hath moſt need of their aſſiſtance, for *the* (pag. 114.) *obligation of Subjects to the Soveraign is underſtood* (*he ſaies*) *to laſt as long, and no longer, then the power laſts to protect them.* So that aſſoon as any Town, City, or Province of any Princes Dominions, is invaded by a Forreign Enemy, or poſſeſſed by a Rebellious Subject, that the Prince for the preſent cannot ſuppreſs the power of the one, or the other, the people may lawfully reſort to thoſe who are over them, and for their Protection perform all the Offices and duties of good Subjects to them, (pag. 114.) *For the right men have by nature to protect themſelves when none elſe can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquiſh'd,*

quiſh'd, and the end of obedience is protection, which wherever a man ſeeth it either in his own, or in an others ſword, nature applieth his obedience to it, and his endeavours to maintain it. And truly it is no wonder if they do ſo, and that Subjects take the firſt opportunity to free themſelves from ſuch a Soveraign as he hath given them, and chuſe a better for themſelves. Whereas the duty of Subjects is, and all good Subjects believe they owe, another kind of duty and obedience to their Soveraign, then to withdraw their ſubjection becauſe he is oppreſs'd; and will prefer poverty, and death it ſelf, before they will renounce their obedience to their natural Prince, or do any thing that may advance the ſervice of his Enemies. And ſince Mr. *Hobbes* gives ſo ill a teſtimony of his Government (which, by the ſevere conditions he would oblige mankind to ſubmit to for the ſupport of it, ought to be firm, and not to be ſhaken) (pag. 114.) *that it is in its own nature not only ſubject to violent death by forreign war, but alſo from the ignorance, and paſſion of men, that it hath in it from the very inſtitution many ſeeds of natural mortality by inteſtine diſcord*, worſe then which he cannot ſay of any Government, we may very reaſonably prefer the Government we have, and under which we have enjoi'd much happineſs, before his which we do not know, nor any body hath had experience of, and which by his own confeſſion is liable to all the accidents of mortality which any others have bin; and reject his that promiſes ſo ill, and exerciſes all the action of War in Peace, and when War comes, is liable to all the misfortunes which can poſſibly attend or invade it.

Whether the relation of Subjects be extinguisht in all those cases, which Mr. *Hobbes* takes upon him to prescribe, as Imprisonment, Banishment, and the like, I leave to those who can instruct him better in the Law of Nations, by which they must be judged, notwithstanding all his Appeals to the Law of Nature; and I presume if a banish'd Person (p. 114.) *during which*, he saies, *he is not subject*, shall join in an action under a Forreign power against his Country, wherein he shall with others be taken prisoner, the others shall be proceeded against as Prisoners of War, when he shall be judg'd as a Traitor and Rebel, which he could not be, if he were not a Subject: and this not only in the case of an hostile action, and open attemt, but of the most secret conspiracy that comes to be discover'd. And if this be true, we may conclude it would be very unsafe to conduct our selves by what Mr. *Hobbes* (p. 105.) *finds by speculation, and deduction of Soveraign rights from the nature, need, and designs of men*. Surely this woful desertion, and defection in the cases above mention'd, which hath bin alwaies held criminal by all Law that hath bin current in any part of the World, receiv'd so much countenance and justification by Mr. *Hobbes* his Book, and more by his conversation, that *Cromwel* found the submission to those principles produc'd a submission to him, and the imaginary relation between Protection and Allegiance so positively proclam'd by him, prevail'd for many years to extinguish all visible fidelity to the King, whilst he perswaded many to take the Engagement as a thing lawful, and to become Subjects to the Usurper, as to their legitimate Soveraign; of which great service he could not abstain from

brag-

bragging in a Pamphlet he ſet forth in that time, that he alone, and his doctrine had prevail'd with many to ſubmit to the Government, who would otherwiſe have diſturb'd the public Peace, that is, to renounce their fidelity to their true Soveraign, and to be faithful to the Uſurper.

It appears at laſt, why by his inſtitution he would have the power, and ſecurity of his Soveraign, wholly and only to depend upon the Contracts, and Covenants which the people make one with another, to transfer all their rights to a third perſon (who ſhall be Soveraign) without entring into any Covenant with the Soveraign himſelf, which would have deveſted them of that liberty to diſobey him, which they have reſerv'd to themſelves; or receiving any Covenant from him, which might have obliged him to have kept his promiſe to them; by which they might have had ſomewhat left to them, which they might have called their own, which his inſtitution will not bear, all ſuch promiſes being void. But if he be ſo tender hearted, as to think himſelf oblig'd to obſerve all the promiſes, and make good all the Grants he hath made, by which he may be diſabled to provide for their ſafety, which is the ground that hath made all thoſe Grants and promiſes to be void, he hath granted him power to remedy all this, by (p. 114.) *directly renouncing, or transferring the Soveraignty to another: and that he might openly, and in plain terms renounce, or transfer it, he makes no doubt*; and then he ſaies, *if a Monarch ſhall relinquish the Soveraignty both for himſelf, and his heirs, his ſubjects return to the abſolute liberty of nature. Becauſe tho nature may declare who are his ſons, and who are the neereſt of his kin, yet it dependeth on his own will who*

ſhall

ſhall be his Heir: and if he will have no Heir, There is no Soveraignty, or Subjection. This ſeems the hardeſt condition for the poor Subject that he can be liable unto, that when he hath deveſted himſelf of all the right he had, only for his Soveraigns protection, that he may be redeem'd from the ſtate of War and confuſion that nature hath left him in, and hath paid ſo dear for that protection, it is left ſtill in his Soveraigns power to withdraw that protection from him, to renounce his ſubjection, and without his conſent to transfer the Soveraignty to another, to whom he hath no mind to be ſubject. One might have imagin'd that this new trick of transferring, and covenanting, had bin an univerſal remedy, that being once applied would for ever prevent the ill condition and confuſion that nature had left us in, and that ſuch a right would have bin conſtituted by it, that Soveraignty would never have fail'd to the Worlds end: and that when the ſubject can never retract, or avoid the bargain he hath made, how ill ſoever he likes it, or improve it by acquiring any better conditions in it, it ſhall notwithſtanding be in the Soveraigns power without his conſent, and it may be without his privity, in an inſtant to leave him without any protection, without any ſecurity, and as a prey to all who are to ſtrong for him. This indeed is the greateſt Prerogative that he hath conferr'd upon his Soveraign, when he had given him all that belongs to his Subjects, that when he is weary of Governing, he can deſtroy them, by leaving them to deſtroy one another. For Kings and Princes to reſign and relinquiſh their Crown and Soveraignty, is no new tranſaction, nor it may be the better for being old. Some have left them out of Melancholy, and devotion

votion, and when they have ceaſed to be Kings made themſelves Monks, and repented the change of their conditions afterwards. Some out of weakneſs and bodily infirmities, have not bin able to ſuſtain the fatigue that the well exerciſing the Government required, and therefore have deſir'd to ſee thoſe in the quiet poſſeſſion of it, to whom it would of right belong when they were dead; and the more reaſonably, if they foreſaw any difficulties like to ariſe about their admiſſion in thoſe ſeaſons; as *Charles* the fifth apprehended with reference to ſome of his dominions in *Italy*, if his Son *Philip* was not in poſſeſſion of them, before his Brother *Ferdinando* came to be Emperor. Some Princes have bin ſo humorous, as upon the frowardneſs and refractorineſs of their Subjects, and becauſe they could not govern in that manner they had a mind to do, to abdicate the Government, and would have bin glad afterwards to have reſumed it. And others have bin ſo wanton, as to relinquiſh their Crown becauſe they did not like the Climate in which their Dominions lay, and only that they might live in a better Air, and enjoy the delights and pleaſures of a more happy Situation. But all theſe generally never attemted it, or imagin'd they could do it, without the approbation and conſent of their Subjects, which was allwaies deſir'd, and yielded to, with great formality. And it is very ſtrange that in thoſe ſeaſons of Abdication, which ſuppoſes a ſuſpenſion of Soveraignty, eſpecially in Elective Kingdoms, for in Hereditary the immortality of the King, who never dies, may make a difference, this invention of Mr. *Hobbes*'s, of transferring one anothers right, and covenanting with one another, hath never bin heard

heard of; and tho the Soveraignty is inveſted by election, the people have very little ſhare in that election.

If Mr. *Hobbes* would have exercis'd his Talent in that ſpacious feild, as he might have don with more innocence, and, it may be, more ſucceſs, and have undertaken *by his ſpeculation and deduction of Soveraign rights, from the nature, need, and deſigns of men*, to prove that it is not in the juſt power of a Monarch to relinquiſh and renounce his Soveraignty, with what formality and conſent ſoever, nor more in the autority and power of the King to abdicate and relinquiſh his Soveraignty over his people, then it is in the autority of the people to withdraw their ſubmiſſion and obedience from him; and that the practice of ſuch renunciations, tho never very frequent, hath bin the original and introduction of that miſcheivous doctrine ſow'd amongſt the people, of their having a co-ordinate power with the Soveraign, which will be much cheriſhed by his new inſtitution, ſince men are eaſily perſwaded to believe, that they can mar what they can make, and may lawfully deſtroy what they create, that is, the work of their own hands; I ſay, if he would have laid out his reaſon upon that argument, he could have made it ſhine very plauſibly, and might have made many Proſelytes to his opinion; ſince many Learned men are ſo much in their judgment againſt that right of relinquiſhing and transferring in Princes, that they believe it to be the only cauſe wherein Subjects may lawfully take up defenſive Arms, that they may continue Subjects, and to preſerve their Subjection and obedience from being alien'd from him to whom it is due; and that no

conſent

consent or concurrence can more make such an alienation lawful, then it can dissolve the bonds of Wedlock, and qualify both parties to make a new choice for themselves, that may be more grateful to them. But he thinks it to be more glory, to discover that to be right reason, which all other men find to be destructive to it, and (*pag.* 91.) *that the suddain and rough bustling in of a new truth*, will raise his fame, as it hath don that of many other Heretics before, and which he saies, *doth never break the peace, but only sometimes awake the War*; which, to use his own commendable expression, is (*pag.* 8.) *like handing of things from one to another, with many words making nothing understood.*

The Survey of Chapter 22.

I Should pass over his two and twentieth Chapter of Systemes, subject, Political, and Private, which is a title as difficult to be understood by a literal translation as most of those to any Chapter in *Suarez*; as few Congregations, when they meet in a Church to pay their devotions to God Almighty, do know that they are an irregular systeme; in which, besides vulgar notions well worded, every man will discover much of that which he calls signs of error, and misreckoning, to which (he saies) (Pag. 116.) *all mankind is too prone*, and with which that Chapter abounds, and will require no confutation, but that I find, and wonder to find mention of Laws, and Letters Patents, Bodies Politic, and Corporations, as necessary institutions for the carrying on and advancement of Trade, which are so many limitations and restraints of the Soveraign power, and so many entanglements under Covenants and Promises, which as they are all declar'd to be void, it is in vain to mention. I did not think Mr. *Hobbes* had desir'd to establish trade, or any industry for the private accumulation of riches in his Commonwealth. For is it possible to imagine, that any Merchant will send out Ships to Sea, or make such a discovery of his Estate, if it may be either seized upon before it go's out, or together with the benefit of the return when it comes home? If trade be necessary to the good of a Nation, it must be founded upon

upon the known right of Propriety, not as against other Subjects only, but against the Soveraign himself; otherwiſe trade is but a trap to take the collected wealth of particular men in a heap, and when it is brought into leſs room, to have it ſeized on, and confiſcated by the omnipotent word of the King with leſs trouble, and more profit. And if any Laws, Letters Patents, Charters, or any other obligations or promiſes, can oblige the Soveraign power in theſe caſes which refer to trade and forreign adventures, why ſhould they not be equally valid for the ſecuring all the other parts and relations of Propriety? However, whatſoever rigor Mr. *Hobbes* thinks fit to exerciſe upon the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, he muſt give over all thoughts of trade, if he doth not better provide to ſecure his Merchants both of their liberty, and propriety.

It is a good obſervation, and an argument for the preference of Monarchy before any other form of Government, in that where the Government is popular, and the depreſſing the intereſt and reputation of particular Subjects is an eſſential policy of that Government, yet in the managing the affairs of their Colonies and Provinces at a diſtance from them, they chuſe to commit the ſame to a ſingle perſon, as they do the Government and conduct of their Armies, which are to defend their Government; which is a tacite implication, if not confeſſion, that in their own judgment they think the Monarchical the beſt form of Government. But he might have obſerv'd likewiſe, that in all thoſe Monarchical Commiſſions, at what diſtance ſoever, there are limits

and bounds ſet, by referring to inſtructions for the punctual obſervation and performance of what that Sate or Government hath bin bound by promiſe and contract to perform; which hath the ſame force to evince, that the performance of promiſes and conditions, is very conſiſtent with Monarchical Government: for the hazards that may arrive from thence may be as dangerous to that Government if it be at a great diſtance, as upon any ſuppoſition whatſoever, yet is never left to the diſcretion of a Governor.

It is a wonderful latitude that Mr. *Hobbes* leaves to all his Subjects, and contradictory to all the moral precepts given to the World, and to all the notions of Juſtice, that he who hath his private intereſt depending, and to be debated and judg'd before any Judicatory, may make as many Friends as he can amongſt thoſe Judges, even by giving them Mony; as if, tho it be a crime in a Judg to be corrupt, the perſon who corrupts him may be innocent, becauſe he thinks his own cauſe juſt, and deſires to buy juſtice for Mony which cannot be got without it; and ſo the groſſeſt and moſt powerful Bribery ſhall be introduc'd, to work upon the weakneſs and poverty, and corruption of a Judg, becauſe the party thinks his cauſe to be juſt, and chuſes rather to depend upon the affection of his Judg whom he hath corrupted, then upon the integrity of his cauſe, and the juſtice of the Law. But he doth not profeſs to be a ſtrict Caſuiſt: nor can be a good obſerver of the Rules of moral honeſty, who believes that he may induce another to commit a great Sin, and remain innocent himſelf. Nor is he in truth a competent

Judg

Judg of the moſt enormous crimes, when he reckons (pag. 56.) *Theft, Adultery, Sodomy, and any other vice that may be taken for an effect of power, or a cauſe of pleaſure,* to be of ſuch a Nature, as amongſt men are taken to be againſt Law, rather then againſt Honor.

The

The Survey of Chapter 23.

I Should with as little trouble have paſſed by his twenty third Chapter of his Public Miniſters, and the fanciful Similies contain'd therein, not thinking it of much importance what public or private Miniſters he makes for ſuch a Soveraignty as he hath inſtituted; but that I obſerve him in this place (as moſt luxurious Fancies uſe to do) demoliſhing and pulling down, what he had with great care and vigilance erected and eſtabliſh'd as undeniable truth before. And whereas he hath in his eighteenth Chapter, (*pag.* 91.) pronounced *the right of Judicatory, of hearing and deciding all Controverſies which concern Law, either Civil or Natural, or concerning Fact*, to be inſeparably annexed to the Soveraignty, and incapable of being aliened and tranſferred by him; and afterwards declares, *That the Judgments given by Judges qualified, and commiſſion'd by him to that purpoſe, are his own proper Judgments, and to be regarded as ſuch*, which is a truth generally confeſs'd; in this Chapter, againſt all practice and all reaſon, he degrades him from at leaſt half that Power, and fancies a Judg to be ſuch a party, that if the Litigant be not pleaſed with the opinion of his Judg in matter of Law, or matter of Fact, he may therefore (*pag.* 125.) (*becauſe they are both Subjects to the Soveraign*) appeal from his Judg, and ought to be tried before an other: for tho the Soveraign may hear

hear and determine the Cause himself, if he please, yet if he will appoint another to be Judg, it must be such a one as they shall both agree upon: for as the Complainant hath already made choice of his own Judg, so the Defendant must be allow'd to except against such of his Judges, whose interest maketh him suspect them; which was never heard of before this Institution, and the consequence of it will best appear by an instance to be very ridiculous. Let us suppose, that an Information were preferr'd in the Kings Bench (as it may well be) against Mr. *Hobbes*, for Writing and publishing such a seditious Book against the establish'd Government of Church and State, as his *Leviathan* is; because the Soveraign Judg will not hear and determine this himself, but refers it those Judges who are appointed and commission'd by him to examine and punish Crimes of such a nature, would it be reasonable that Mr. *Hobbes* should except against his Judges, because by their knowing the Law he may suspect them, and refuse to be try'd before any but those whom he shall agree upon? and (*pag.* 125.) *can this be the properties of just and rational Judicature?* He hath forgotten, that before he erected his Soveraignty, when there could be no Judicature, he saies, (*pag.* 81.) *it is of the Law of Nature, That they who are at controversie, submit their right to the judgment of an Arbitrator*; there indeed, for want of Judicature, there was a necessity of a mutual consent, without which no man could take upon him to be an Arbitrator. If a man hath a Suit upon matter of Title or Interest with a Judg, notwithstanding that he is sworn to do right, he is so far from being bound to bring his Action be-

fore

fore that Judg, that he may chuſe whether it ſhall depend in that Court of which that Judg is a Member, tho the major part be unconcern'd, but may have his Right tried in another Court: but if he ſhould have any part in the choice of his own Judg, eſpecially if he be criminal, Juſtice would be well adminiſtred. Himſelf acknowledges, that the judgment of ſuch Judges, is the judgment of the Soveraign; and a greater Perſon then the Soveraign hath given a fair warning to thoſe Judges; *Take heed what ye do, for ye judg not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the judgment*, 2 Chron. As it is the Kings judgment, he will puniſh it ſeverely if it be corrupt; and if he cannot diſcover it to be corrupt, for want of complaint, or want of evidence, God will puniſh it becauſe it was his judgment: a corrupt Judg, of all guilty perſons, can never eſcape puniſhment.

I am very glad that Mr. *Hobbes* is pleas'd with any part of the adminiſtration of Juſtice in his own Country (which he would hardly like if he were expoſed to it:) and he might have obſerv'd that great Priviledg of the Lords in *England*, of being tried in all capital Crimes by their Peers, by Men of their own quality and condition, to be a greater Priviledg then the Nobility of any Nation in *Europe* enjoy. The Grandees of *Spain*, and the Dukes, and Peers, and Mareſchals of *France*, in thoſe Tranſgreſſions undergo the ſame forms of Juſtice, and are tried before the ſame Judges, as the meaneſt Peaſant is for the like or the ſame Crime: and tho he calls it, and ſaies it hath bin ever acknowledg'd as a Priviledg of Favor, yet they look upon it as a Priviledg of Right, of which they cannot be deprived by the

Word

Word and Autority of the King. And it may be he would be hardly able to bring this Priviledg under his original Institution of Government, since probably men being then all equal, they would never have consented to such a difference, rather then equality, in the form of Justice that was to be exercis'd towards them: and he values it too lightly, who thinks it can be taken from them by any Arbitrary Power.

I cannot comprehend what Mr. *Hobbes*'s meaning is, in making an Embassador sent from his Prince, to congratulate, or condole, or to assist at a Solemnity, to be but a private Person, because he saies, *(pag. 126.) the business is private, and belonging to him in his natural capacity*: whereas, his being sent Embassador, and having in the performance of his Office of congratulating or condoling, or in his assistance at the Solemnity, the respect shew'd to him, and the priviledg and precedence of the Person of his Master, he cannot but be a public Person. Nor can an Embassador come to be but a private Person any other way, then by presuming to negotiate some unlawful thing, which he is not warranted by his Commission to do; and even in that case he expects to be treated as a public Person, as well by the security that Prince gave him by his Reception, as by the autority of the Prince who sent him, and expects to be sent to, and tried before his own Master: which depends much upon the nature and circumstances of the Transgression. But I wonder how Mr. *Hobbes* could bring the Rights and Priviledges of Embassadors under his disquisition, since they cannot depend upon his Institution: for

they neither do nor can proceed from the Covenants, or Contracts, or transferring of Rights between private persons, but he must make a new Institution for Soveraigns, in which he will hardly be able to preserve them without some Covenants, which he hitherto so much abhors.

The Survey of Chapter 24.

IT is the cuſtom and delight that Mr. *Hobbes* takes in the frequent repeting, almoſt in every Chapter, the lewd principles in his Inſtitution, with ſome variety of pleaſant expreſſions and inſtances, which he would have underſtood to add new vigor to his former Arguments, that obliges me by Tautologies to put the Reader in mind of what I have ſaid before, and to repete the ſame that hath bin ſaid; and ſo I muſt ſay again upon this Chapter of the nutrition and procreation of a Common-wealth, that he hath propos'd a very ungracious method to himſelf in forming his Government, by aſſigning a greater power and autority to his Soveraign, then any honeſt Magiſtrate deſires, or will ever exerciſe, or can think himſelf ſecure in; and ſuch a liberty and property to the Subject, as they can take no delight in, and conſequently can never wiſh well to that Government, under which they ſhall enjoy no more. Nor will they ever believe themſelves to be in poſſeſſion of liberty or plenty, when it is in the power of any one man to diſpoſſeſs them of both, or either, at his good will and pleaſure, without any violation of any Juſtice that they can reſort to, or complain of. It is a very uncomfortable Propriety that any man can have in his Lands and Goods, becauſe his Neighbor cannot take them from him, if his Prince can juſtly take them from him, and give them to his Neighbor. Princes have their particular Affections and Inclina-

tions which ſway them as much as other men, and are prevail'd upon by the ſame ſtrong motives and impulſions; and if they may take away all from thoſe they do not like, and as much as they think fit from thoſe they like leſs, to give to thoſe they love, and to ſuch as they like better, there can be no valuable propriety in any body but the Soveraign alone: and when it is once found to be in him alone, he will not be long able to defend his own Propriety, or his own Soveraignty. It is *Machiavels* exception againſt the entertaining of forreign Forces, that they are only mercenary, and therefore indifferent in their affections which party wins or loſes; and no doubt thoſe Soldiers fight moſt reſolutely, who fight to defend their own. And ſurely they who have nothing of their own to loſe but their lives, are as apt to throw thoſe away where they ſhould not, as where they ſhould be expoſed; and it is the uſual Artifice in all Seditions, for the Leaders and Promoters of them, to perſwade the People, that the tendency and conſequence of ſuch and ſuch actions don by the Magiſtrate, extends to the depriving them of all their propriety, the jealouſie of which hurries them into all thoſe acts of rage and deſpair, which prove ſo fatal to Kingdoms. And there was never yet a wiſe and fortunate Prince, who hath not enervated thoſe Machinations, by all the profeſſions, and all the vindications of that Propriety, which they are ſo vigilant to preſerve and defend. And therefore it is a wonderful prepoſterous foundation to ſupport a Government, to declare that the Subject hath no propriety in any thing that excludes the Soveraign from a right of diſpoſing it; and it may be eaſily believ'd, that there is not one Prince in *Europe*, I-

mean that is civiliz'd (for of the abſolute power of the Great Turk, from whence Mr. *Hobbes* hath borrowed his Model, we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe in another place) would be able to retain his Soveraignty one whole year, after he ſhould declare, as Mr. *Hobbes* doth, that his Subjects have no propriety in any thing they poſſeſs, but that he may diſpoſe of all they have. For tho they do too often invade that propriety, and take ſomwhat from them that is not their own, they bear it better under the notion of oppreſſion and rapine, and as they look upon it as the effect of ſome powerful Subjects evil advice (which will in time be diſcover'd, and reform'd by the juſtice of the Prince, as hath often fallen out) then they would ever do under a claim of right, that could juſtly take away all they have, becauſe it is not the ſubjects but their own. And if Mr. *Hobbes* had taken the pains, and known where to have bin inform'd of the Proceedings and Tranſactions of *William the Conqueror*, he would have found cauſe to believe, that that great King did very dexterouſly endeavor, from the time that he was aſſured that his Poſſeſſion would not be diſturb'd, to deveſt himſelf of the Title of a Conqueror, and made his Legal Claim to what he had got by the Will of *Edward the Confeſſor*, whoſe Name was pretious to the Nation, and who was known to have a great Friendſhip for that Prince, who had now recover'd what had bin his. And he knew ſo well the ill conſequence which muſt attend the very imagination that the Nation had loſt its Propriety, that he made haſt to grant them an aſſurance, that they ſhould ſtill enjoy all the benefits and priviledges which were due to them by their own Laws and Cuſtoms, by which they ſhould be ſtill go-

vern'd,

vern'd; as they were during that Kings whole Reign, who had enough of the unqueſtionable Demeſnes and Lands belonging to the Crown, of which he was then poſſeſſed without a Rival, and belonging to thoſe great Men who had periſh'd with their Poſterity in the Battel with *Harold*, to diſtribute to thoſe who had born ſuch ſhares, and run ſuch hazards in his proſperous adventure. And thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms which were before the Conqueſt, are the ſame which the Nation and Kingdom have bin ſince govern'd by to this day, with the addition of thoſe Statutes and Acts of Parliament, which are the Laws of the ſucceſſive Kings, with which they have gratifi'd their Subjects, in providing ſuch new ſecurity for them, and advantages to the public, as upon the experience and obſervation of the Ages and Times when they were made, contributed to the honor and glory of the King, as well as the happineſs of the People; many of which are but the Copies and Tranſcripts of antient Land-marks, making the Characters more plain and legible of what had bin practic'd and underſtood in the preceding Ages, and the obſervation whereof are of the ſame profit and convenience to King and People.

Such were the Laws in *Tullies* time, which Mr. *Hobbes* wonderfully cites, to prove that which *Tully* never heard of, and which indeed is quite contrary to the end of his Diſcourſe. (*pag.* 127.) Is it poſſible that *Tully* could ever have ſaid, *Let the Civil Law be once abandoned, or but negligently guarded (not to ſay oppreſſed) and there is nothing that any man can be ſure to receive from his anceſtor, or to leave to his children?* and again, *take away the Civil Law, and no man knows what is his own, and what another mans?* I ſay, he could

could never have mention'd and insisted upon this grand security of man-kind, if he had understood the Law to be nothing but the breath of the Soveraign, who could grant, and dissolve, or repeal this Law, with the speaking a word that his will or fancy dictates to him. How can any man receive from his Ancestor, or leave to his Children, if he be not sure that his Ancestor had, and that his Children shall have a propriety? It was the importance of, and delight in this propriety, that produc'd that happy and beneficial agreement between the Soveraign power and the naked Subject, which is mention'd before; that introduc'd the beauty of Building, and the cultivating the Earth by Art as well as Industry, by securing men, that they and their Children should dwell in the Houses they were at the charge to build, and that they should reap the harvest of those Lands which they had taken the pains to sow. Whatsoever is of Civility and good Manners, all that is of Art and Beauty, or of real and solid Wealth in the World, is the product of this pact ion, and the child of beloved Propriety; and they who would strangle this Issue, desire to demolish all Buildings, eradicate all Plantations, to make the Earth barren, and man-kind to live again in Tents, and nurish his Cattle by successive marches into those Fields where the grass grows. Nothing but the joy in Propriety reduc'd us from this barbarity; and nothing but security in the same, can preserve us from returning into it again. Nor will any man receive so great prejudice and damage by this return, as the Kings and Princes themselves, who had a very ample recompence which they still enjoy, by dividing

LIBRARY OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK.

ding their unprofitable propriety with their Subjects, having ever ſince receiv'd much more profit from the propriety in the hands of the Subjects, then they did when it was in their own, or then they do from that which they reſerv'd to themſelves; and they continue to have the more, or leſs upon a true account, as this paction is the more or leſs exactly obſerv'd and compli'd with.

Mr. *Hobbes* is much miſtaken in his Hiſtorical concluſions, as for the moſt part he uſes to be, when he ſaies, (*pag.* 129) that the *Conqueror, and his ſucceſſors, have alwaies laid arbitrary Taxes on all Subjects Lands;* except he calls what hath bin don by the free conſent of the Subject, which is according to the paction, to be the arbitrary Tax of the Soveraign, becauſe the Law is the ſtamp of his own Royal Autority. And if ſuch arbitrary Taxes have in truth at any time bin laid upon the Subjects, he might have obſerv'd (for ſomtimes it hath bin don) that the Soveraign hath receiv'd much more damage then profit by it, and the Kingdom bin in a worſe ſtate of ſecurity then it was before. Nor can any Argument be made from the glory and proſperity of ſome Crowns, which have ſomtimes exercis'd that arbitrary Power, and reduc'd the Rules they ought to govern by, to the ſtandard of their own Will; which yet they have don with ſuch formality, as implies the conſent of their Subjects, tho they dare not but conſent. It hath bin too frequently ſeen too, that the hurt and wounded patience of the People, hath, when it may be it was leaſt apprehended, redeem'd themſelves (for *læſa patientia eſt furor*) by as unwarrantable Rebellion from unwarrantable Oppreſſion, or

out

out of content of their own ruin, because they have so little comfort in their preservation, have obstinately refused to give any assistance to their Soveraign who needeth real need of it, because he hath wantonly extorted it from them when he had no need. And then men pay too dear for their want of providence, and find too late, that the neglect of Justice is an infallible underminer, how undiscern'd soever, of that security which their Policy would raise for themselves, in the place of that which Wisdom and Justice had provided for them. I agree, that it being impossible to fore-see what the expences which a Soveraign may be put to will amount to, it is as impossible by land, or otherwise to set aside such a proportion as is necessary; but those extraordinary occasions must be supplied by such extraordinary waies, and with those formalities which the Soveraign obliges himself to observe; by observing whereof, much less inconvenience shall befall Him or the Public, then by cancelling those Laws which establish Propriety.

If Mr. *Hobbes* had not bin a professed Enemy to Greek and Latine Sentences, as an Argument of indigestion, when they come up again unchewed and unchanged, he might have learn'd from *Seneca*, who understood, and felt the utmost extent of an absolute Soveraignty, and had a shrewd fore-sight what the end of it would be, how the propriety of the Subject might well consist with the power of the Prince: *Jure civili* (saies he) *omnia Regis sunt, & tamen illa quorum ad Regem pertinet universa possessio, in singulos dominos descripta sunt, & unaquæque res habet possessorem suum. Itaque dare Regi, & domum, & mancipium,*

& pecuniam possumus, nec donare illi de suo dicimur. Ad Reges enim potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas. And that Prince who thinks his power so great, that his Subjects have nothing to give him, will be very unhappy if he hath ever need of their hands, or their hearts.

The Survey of Chapter 25.

WHen Mr. *Hobbes* hath erected such a Soveraign, and instituted such a People, that the one may say and do whatsoever he finds convenient for his purpose, and the other must neither say or do any thing that may displease him; the consideration of what, and how counsel should be given under such a Government, can require very little deliberation. And the truth is, the discourse of this Chapter, with the differences between Command and Counsel, is more vulgar and pedantic then he is usually guilty of; and it is easie to be observ'd, that in his description of the office of a Counsellor, and of the ability of counselling, (*pag.* 134.) that it *proceeds from experience and long study, and that it requires great knowledg of the disposition of man-kind, of the rights of Government, and of the nature of Equity, Law, Justice, and Honor, not to be attained without study: and of the strengths, commodities, places both of their own Country, and their Neighbors; as also of the inclinations and designs of all Nations that may any way annoy them: and this,* he saies, *is not attained without much Experience:* he makes so lively a representation of that universal understanding, which he would be thought to be possessed with, that he could not be without hope that *Cromwell* would think him worthy to be a Counsellor, who had given him such an earnest that he would serve him with success, and without hesitati-

on. Yet I ſee no reaſon (if to ask Counſel of another, is to permit him to give ſuch Counſel as he ſhall think beſt;) and if it be the Office of a Counſellor, when an Action comes into deliberation, to make manifeſt the conſequence of it in ſuch a manner, as he that is counſelled may be truly and euidently inform'd) why he is ſo very angry with thoſe two words, *exhort* and *dehort*, as to brand thoſe who uſe either, with the ſtyle of corruption, and being brib'd by their own intereſt; ſince it is very agreeable to the faith and integrity of a Counſellor, to perſwade him that asks his advice to do that which he thinks beſt to be don, and to diſſwade him from doing that which he thinks to be miſchievous, which is to exhort and dehort; and the examples of Perſons, and the autority of Books, may be pertinently applied to either: ſince few accidents fall out in States and Empires, which have not in former times happened in ſuch conjunctures, and then if the ſame hath bin faithfully repreſented to poſterity, with all the circumſtances and ſucceſſes, which is the natural end of all good Hiſtories to tranſmit, nothing can more properly be reflected on, or bring clearer light to the preſent difficulties in debate, then the memory of what was upon thoſe occaſions don fortunatly, or unhappily left undon, which ſurely cannot but introduce uſeful and pertinent Reflexions into the conſultation. And it is not eaſie to comprehend what that great ability is, which his Counſellor is to attain to by long ſtudy, and cannot be attain'd without, if that ſtudy be not to be converſant with Books, and if neither the examples in, or autority of Books be in any degree to be conſider'd. Nor are ſuch expreſſions which may move the affections or

paſſions

paſſions of him who aſks Counſel, or of thoſe who are to give it, repugnant to the office of a Counſellor, ſince the end of Counſel is to lead men to chuſe that which is good, and avoid that which is worſe; and he to whom the Counſel is given, will beſt judg whether it tends to others ends rather then his own, and will value it accordingly. And he is much a better Counſellor, who by his experience and obſervation of the nature and humor of the People who are to be govern'd, and by his knowledg of the Laws and Rules by which they ought to be govern'd, gives advice what ought to be don, then he who from his ſpeculative knowledg of man-kind, and of the Rights of Government, and of the nature of Equity and Honor, attain'd with much ſtudy, would erect an Engine of Government by the rules of Geometry, more infallible then Experience can ever find out.

I am not willing now, or at any time, to accompany him in his ſallies which he makes into the Scriptures, and which he alwaies handles, as if his Soveraign power had not yet declared it to be the word of God; and to illuſtrate now his Diſtinctions, and the difference between Command and Counſel, he thinks fit to fetch inſtances from thence, *Have no other Gods but me, Make to thy ſelf no graven Image*, &c. he ſaies, (*pag.* 133.) *are commands, becauſe the reaſon for which we are to obey them, is drawn from the will of God our King, whom we are obliged to obey:* but theſe words, *Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jeſus, are Counſel, becauſe the reaſon why we ſhould do ſo, tendeth not to any benefit of God Almighty, who ſhall be ſtill King in what manner ſoever we rebel, but of our ſelves, who have no other means of avoiding the puniſh-*

ment

ment hanging over us for our sins; as if the latter were not drawn from the will of God as much as the former, or as if the former tended more to the benefit of God then the latter. An ordinary Grammarian, without any insight in Geometry, would have thought them equally to be commands: But Mr. *Hobbes* will have his Readers of another talent in their understanding, and another subjection to his dictates.

The

The Survey of Chapter 26.

HOwever Mr. *Hobbes* enjoines other Judges to retract the judgments they have given when contrary to reason, upon what autority or president soever they have pronounced them, yet he holds himself oblig'd still *tueri opus*, to justify all he hath said; therefore we have reason to expect, that to support his own notions of Liberty and Propriety, contrary to the notions of all other men, he must introduce a notion of Law, contrary to what the world hath ever yet had of it. And it would be answer enough, and it may be the fittest that can be given to this Chapter, to say, that he hath erected a Law, contrary and destructive to all the Law, that is acknowled'g and establish'd in any Monarchy or Republic that is Christian; and in this he hopes to secure himself by his accustomed method of definition, and defines, that Civil Law (which is a term we do not dislike) is to every Subject those Rules which the Common-wealth hath commanded him by word, writing, or other sufficient sign of the Will to make use of for the distinction of right, in which he sales there is nothing that is not at first sight evident, that is to say of what is contrary, and what is not contrary to the Rule. From which definition his first deduction is, that the Soveraign is the Sole Legislator, and that himself is not subject to Laws, because he can make, and repeal them: which in truth is no necessary deduction from

his

his own definition; for it doth not follow from thence, tho he makes them Rules only for Subjects, that the Soveraign hath the sole power to repeal them; but the true definition of a Law is, that it is to every Subject the rule which the Common-wealth hath commanded him by word, writing, or other sufficient sign of the Will made, and published in that form and manner, as is accustomed in that Common-wealth to make use of for the distinction of right, that is to say, of what is contrary, and what is not to the Rule: and from this definition, no such deduction can be made, since the form of making and repealing Laws is stated, and agreed upon in all Common-wealths.

The opinions and judgments which are found in the Books of eminent Lawyers, cannot be answer'd and controuled by Mr. *Hobbes* his wonder, since the men who know least are apt to wonder most, and men will with more justice wonder, whence he comes by the Prerogative to controul the Laws and Government establish'd in this, and that Kingdom, without so much as considering what is Law here or there, but by the general notions he hath of Law, and what it is by his long study, and much cogitation. And it is a strange definition of Law, to make it like his propriety, to be of concernment only between Subject and Subject, without any relation of security as to the Soveraign, whom he exemts from any observation of them, and invests with autority by repealing those which trouble him, when he thinks fit, to free himself from the observation thereof, and by making new: and consequently he saies, he was free before, for he is free that can be free when he will. The instance he gives for his won-

wonder, and diſpleaſure againſt the Books of the Eminent Lawyers, is, that they ſay, that the Common Law hath no controuler but the Parliament; that is, that the Common Law cannot be chang'd or alter'd but by Act of Parliament, which is the Municipal Law of the Kingdom. Now methinks if that be the judgment of Eminent Lawyers, Mr. *Hobbes* ſhould be ſo modeſt as to believe it to be true, till he hears others as Eminent Lawyers declare the contrary: for by his inſtance, he hath brought it now only to relate to the Law of *England*, and then methinks he ſhould be eaſily perſwaded, that the Eminent Lawyers of *England* do know beſt whether the Law be ſo, or no. I do not wiſh that Mr. *Hobbes* ſhould be convinc'd by a judgment of that Law upon himſelf, which would be very ſevere, if he ſhould be accuſed for declaring, that the King alone hath power to alter the deſcents and inheritances of the Kingdom; and whereas the Common Law ſaies the Eldeſt ſhall inherit, the King by his own Edict may declare, and order, that the younger Son ſhall inherit: or for averring, and publiſhing, that the King by his own autority can repeal and diſſolve all Laws, and juſtly take away all they have from his Subjects; I ſay, if the judgment of Law was pronounc'd upon him for this Seditious diſcourſe, he would hardly perſwade the World, that he underſtood what the Law of *England* is, better then the Judges who condemn'd him, or that he was wary enough to ſet up a *jus vagum* and *incognitum* of his own, to controul the eſtabliſh'd Government of his own Country. He ſaies the Soveraign is the only Legiſlator: and I will not contradict him in that. It is the Soveraign ſtamp, and

Royal consent, and that alone, that gives life, and being, and title of Laws, to that which was before but counsel and advice: and no such constitution of his can be repeal'd and made void, but in the same manner, and with his consent. But we say, that he may prescribe or consent to such a method in the form, and making these Laws, that being once made by him, he cannot but in the same form repeal, or alter them; and he is oblig'd by the Law of justice to observe and perform this contract, and he cannot break it, or absolve himself from the observation of it, without violation of justice: and any farther obligation upon him then of justice, I discourse not of. For the better clearing of this to that kind of reason by which Mr. *Hobbes* is sway'd, let us suppose this Soveraignty to reside, and be fix'd in an assembly of men: in which kind of Government it is possible to find more marks and foot-steps of such a deputing, and assigning of interests, as Mr. *Hobbes* is full of, then we can possibly imagine in the original institution of Monarchy. If the Soveraign power be deputed into the hands of fifteen, and any vacant place to be supply'd by the same Autority that made choice of the first fifteen, may there not at that time of the election certain Rules be prescrib'd (I do not say conditions) for the better exercise of that Soveraign power: and by the accepting the power thus explain'd, doth not the Soveraign, tho there should be no Oath administred for the observation thereof, which is a circumstance admitted by most Monarchs, tacitly covenant that he will observe those Rules: and if he do's wilfully decline those Rules, doth he not break the trust reposed in him? I do not say

say forfeit the trust, as if the Soveraignty were at an end, but break that trust, violate that justice he should observe? If the Soveraign power of fifteen, should raise an imposition for the defence of the Common wealth, if they should appoint this whole imposition to be paid only by those whose names are *Thomas* (when *Thomas* was before in no more prejudice with the Common-wealth, then any other appellation in Baptism) may not this inequality be call'd a violation of Justice, and a breach of trust, since it cannot be suppos'd that such an irregular autority was ever committed to any man, or men by any deputation? Of the Prerogative of necessity to swerve from Rules prescrib'd, or to violate Laws the swern to, shall be spoken to in its due time.

It needs not be suppos'd, but must be confess'd, that the Laws of every Country, contain more in them concerning the rights of the Soveraign, and the common administration of Justice to the people, then can be known to, and understood by the person of the Soveraign, and he can as well fight all his Battels with his own hand and sword, as determine all causes of right by his own tongue and understanding. The consequence of any confusion which Mr. *Hobbes* can suppose, would not be more pernicious, then that which would follow the blowing away all these maximes of the Law, if the Kings breath were strong enough to do it. It is a maxime in the Law (as is said before) that the eldest Son shall inherit, and that if three or four Females are heirs, the inheritance shall be equally divided between them. Doth Mr. *Hobbes* believe that the word of the King hath power to change this course, and to appoint that all the Sons shall divide the Estate, and the

Eldeſt Daughter inherit alone? and muſt not all the confuſion imaginable attend ſuch a mutation? All Governments ſubſiſt and are eſtabliſh'd by firmneſs and conſtancy, by every mans knowing what is his right to enjoy, and what is his duty to do: and it is a wonderful method to make this Government more perfect, and more durable, by introducing ſuch an incertainty, that no man ſhall know what he is to do, nor what he is to ſuffer, but that he who is Soveraign to morrow, may cancel, and diſſolve all that was don or conſented to by the Soveraign who was yeſterday, or by himſelf as often as he changes his mind. It is the Kings Office to cauſe his Laws to be executed, and to compel his Subjects to yield obedience to them, and in order thereunto, to make choice of Learn'd Judges to interpret thoſe Lawes, and to declare the intention of them, who (pag. 140.) *by an artificial perfection of reaſon gotten by long ſtudy, and experience in the Law*, muſt be underſtood to be more competent for that determination, then Mr. *Hobbes* can be for the alteration of Law and Government, by the artificial reaſon he hath attain'd to by long ſtudy of Arithmetic and Geometry.

No Eminent Lawyer hath ever ſaid that the two Arms of a Common-wealth are Force and Juſtice, the firſt whereof is in the King, the other depoſited in the hands of the Parliament; but all Lawyers know, that they are equally depoſited in the hands of the King, and that all juſtice is adminiſtred by him, and in his name: and all men acknowledg that all the Laws are his Laws; his conſent and autority only giving the power and name of a Law, what concurrence, or formality ſoever hath contributed towards

wards it: the queſtion only is, whether he can repeal, or vacate ſuch a Law, without the ſame concurrence and formality. And methinks the inſtance he makes of a Princes (*pag.* 139.) *ſubduing another people, and conſenting that they ſhall live, and be govern'd according to thoſe Laws under which they were born, and by which they were formerly govern'd*, ſhould manifeſt to him the contrary. For tho it be confeſs'd, that thoſe old Laws become new by this conſent of his, the Laws of the Legiſlator, that is of that Soveraign who indulges the uſe of them; yet he cannot ſay that he can by his word vacate and repeal thoſe Laws, and his own conceſſion, without diſſolving all the ligaments of Government, and without the violation of faith, which himſelf confeſſes to be againſt the Law of Nature.

Notwithſtanding that *the Law is reaſon*, and (pag. 139.) *not the letter, but that which is according to the intention of the Legiſlator (that is of the Soveraign) is the Law*, yet when there is any difficulty in the underſtanding the Law, the interpretation thereof may reaſonably belong to Learn'd Judges, who by their education, and the teſtimony of their known abilities before they are made Judges, and by their Oaths to judg according to Right, are the moſt competent to explain thoſe difficulties, which no Soveraign as Soveraign can be preſum'd to underſtand or comprehend. And the judgments and deciſions thoſe Judges make, are the judgments of the Soveraigns, who have qualified them to be Judges, and who are to pronounce their ſentence according to the reaſon of the Law, not the reaſon of the Soveraign. And therefore Mr. *Hobbes* would make a very ignorant Judg, when he would not have him

verſed

verſed in the ſtudy of the Laws, but only a man of good natural reaſon, and of a right underſtanding of the Law of Nature; and yet he ſaies, (pag. 154.) *that no man will pretend to the knowledg of right and wrong without much ſtudy.* And if that power of interpretation of Law be veſted in the Perſon of the Soveraign, he may in a moment overthrow all the Law, which is evident enough by his own inſtances, if, to uſe his own expreſſions, *his underſtanding were not dazled by the flame of his paſſions.* For to what purpoſe is all the diſtinction and diviſion of Laws into human and divine, into natural and moral, into diſtributive and penal, when they may be all vacated, and made null by the word, or perverted by the interpretation of the Soveraign? To what purpoſe is a penalty of five ſhillings put upon ſuch an action, if the Soveraign may make him who doth that action, by his interpretation, or omnipotence, to pay five hundred pounds? Nor by his rule, is his adord Law of Nature of any force, which he ſaies, (pag. 144.) *is the Law of God immutable and eternal, nay Heaven and Earth ſhall paſs away, but not one title of the Law of Nature ſhall paſs, for it is the eternal Law of God.* He, I ſay, hath as much ſubjected that to the arbitrary power and diſcretion of his Soveraign, as he hath don the Liberty and property of the Subject; for he ſaies, (pag. 138.) *the Law of Nature is a part of the Civil Law in all Common-wealths in the World,* and that tho *it be naturally reaſonable, yet it is by the Soveraign power that it is Law,* and he ſaies likewiſe, *that all Laws written, and unwritten, and the Law of Nature it ſelf, have need of interpretation:* and then he makes his ſupreme Soveraign the only legitimate interpreter.

So

So that he hath the Law of Nature as much in his power, and under his jurisdiction, as any other part of the Civil Law, and yet he confesses his subject is not bound to pay obedience to any thing that his Soveraign enjoins against the Law of Nature. In such Labyrinths men entangle themselves, who obstinately engage in opinions relating to a science they do not understand, nor was it possible for him to extend the Prerogative of his Soveraign to such an illimited greatness, without making some invasion upon the Prerogative of God himself. I believe every man who reads Mr. *Hobbes*, observes that when he entangles himself in the Laws of *England*, and affects to be more learned in them then the Chief Justice *Cook*, the natural sharpness and vigor of his reason is more flat and insipid then upon other arguments, and he makes deductions which have no coherence, involves himself in the terms without comprehending the matter, concludes the Law saies that which it does not say, and that the Law hath made no provision in cases which are amply provided for, and in a word loses himself in a mist of words that render him less intelligible then at other times. Nor hath he better luck, when out of Justinians Institutions, he would make a parallel between the Imperial Laws and the Laws of *England*, and resolves that the Decrees of the Common People, which were put to the question by the Tribune, and had the force of Laws, were like the Orders of the House of Commons in *England*; whereas no Orders made by a House of Commons in *England*, are of any validity or force, or receive any submission longer then that House of Commons continues, and if any order made by

them

them be againſt any Law or Statute, it is void when it is made, and receives no obedience. Indeed when Mr. *Hobbes* publiſh'd his *Leviathan*, he might have ſaid that it had the autority and power of the Emperor, or of the whole People of *Rome*, and which would have laſted till this time, if he had bin believ'd, and his doctrine could have bin ſupported by him, or them for whom it was provided.

Probably Mr. *Hobbes* did take delight in being thought to confute a great Lawyer in the Common Law of *England*: tis certain he hath bin tranſported to ſlight uſage of him, by that delight or ſome like paſſion, more then by the defect of reaſon in that which he would contradict. He ſaies tis againſt the Law of Nature to puniſh the innocent; that he is innocent that acquits himſelf judicially, & is acknowledg'd for innocent by the Judg: and yet he ſaies, when a man is accus'd of a Capital crime, and ſeeing the power of the Enemy, and the frequent corruption of Judges, runs away for fear of the effect, yet being taken and brought to Tryal, maketh it appear that he was not guilty of the crime, and is acquitted thereof, however is condemn'd to loſe his goods, this he ſaies, is a manifeſt condemnation of the innocent. He confeſſes afterwards, that the Law may forbid an innocent man to fly, and that he may be puniſhed for flying; but he thinks it very unreaſonable, that flying for fear of injury, ſhould be taken for preſumption of guilt, whereas it is taken only for the guilt of flying, when he is declar'd innocent for the other. And methinks he confeſſeth, that a man, who muſt know his own innocence better then any body elſe, and knows that he muſt loſe his Goods if he flies his tiial, hath no reaſon to complain, if after he be

cleer'd

cleer'd from the crime, he be condemned to lose his goods, which he knew he must lose when he fled; and therefore tho he be judicially acquitted for the crime, he is not innocent, but as judicially condemned to lose his goods for his guilt in flying, the Law and penalty of flying being known to him, whether written, or not written, as well as the Law against the crime was. To his other dictates of the Office of a Judg, that he needs not be learn'd in the Laws, because he shall be told by the Soveraign what judgment he shall give; and of the Laws of *England*, that the Jury is Judg of the Law, as well as of the fact, there needs no more be said, then that he is not inform'd, nor understands what he delivers, and whether his notions of the divine positive Law be more agreeable to truth, will be examin'd hereafter.

The Survey of Chapter 27.

(*Pag.* 151.) THat to be delighted in the imagination of being poſſeſſed of another man's Wife, or Goods, is no breach of the Law that ſaies, *Thou ſhalt not covet*: That the pleaſure a man may have in imagining the death of him from whoſe life he expects nothing but damage and diſpleaſure, is no ſin. That to be pleas'd in the fiction of that which would pleaſe a man if it were real, is a paſſion ſo adherent to the nature of man, and every other living creature, as to make it a ſin, were to make a ſin of *being a man*, is a Body of Mr. *Hobbes's* Divinity, ſo contrary to that of our Savior and his Apoſtles, that I ſhall without any enlargement leave it to all men to conſider, which of them they think moſt fit to believe and follow. Yet methinks he gives ſome encouragement to thoſe who might expect Juſtice againſt him, by his own judgment (*pag.* 152.) upon the man that *comes from the* Indies *hither, and perſwades men here to receive a new Religion, or teach them any thing that tends to diſobedience to the Laws of this Country: tho he be never ſo well perſwaded of the truth of what he teacheth, he commits a crime, and may be juſtly puniſhed, not only becauſe his Doctrine is falſe, but becauſe he do's that which he would not approve in another, that coming from hence ſhould endeavor to alter Religion there.* And how far this Declaration of his own judgment, may operate to his own condemnation, and to the condemnation of moſt of his Doctrines in his *Leviathan*, which are ſo contrary to all the

Laws

Laws eſtabliſhed in his Country, he ſhould have don well to have conſider'd before he committed the tranſgreſſion; for he doth acknowledg, that in a Common-wealth, where by the negligence or unskilfulneſs of Governors & Teachers, falſe Doctrines are by time generally receiv'd, the contrary truths may be generally offenſive; and prudent men are ſeldom guilty of doing any thing, at leaſt when it is in their own election to do it or not to do it, which they foreſee will be offenſive to the Government, or Governors whom they are ſubject to and muſt live under; eſpecially when he confeſſes, (*pag.* 91.) *that tho the moſt ſudain and rough buſtling in of a new truth that can be, do's never break the peace, yet it doth ſometimes wake the war*: and if the ſecure and ſound ſleep of Peace be once broken, and that fierce and brutiſh Tyger War is awakened, when, or how he will be lulled into a new ſleep, the wiſeſt Magiſtrate cannot fore-tell, and therefore will with the more vigilance diſcountenance and ſuppreſs ſuch buſtlers, who impudently make their way with their elbows into modeſt company, to diſpoſe them to ſuſpect, and then to cenſure the wiſdom of their Fore-fathers, for having bin ſwaied by their own illiterate experience, ſo as to prefer it before the cleer reaſon of thinking, and Learned Men, who by cogitation have found a ſurer way for their ſecurity: and there cannot be a more certain Expedient found out for the diſſolving the Peace of any Nation, how firmly ſoever eſtabliſh'd, then by giving leave, or permitting men of parts and unreſtrain'd fancy, to examine the conſtitution of the Government both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, and to vent and publiſh what their wit and inventions may ſuggeſt to them, upon

or againſt the ſame, which would expoſe the gravity and wiſdom of all Government, the infallibility of Scripture, and the Omnipotence of God himſelf, by their light and ſcurrilous queſtions and inſtances, to the mirth and contemt of all men, who are without an awful veneration for either; of which there needs not be a more convincing evidence, then the preſumtion of *Mr. Hobbes* throughout his *Leviathan*, of which it will not be poſſible not to give ſome in the progreſs we ſhall make.

He is over ſubtle in his Diſtinction, that every crime is a ſin, but not every ſin a crime; that from the relation of ſin to the Law, and of crime to the Civil Law, may be inferr'd, that where the Law ceaſeth, ſin ceaſeth, that the Civil Law ceaſing, crimes ceaſe; and yet that violation of Covenants, Ingratitude, Arrogance, can never ceaſe to be ſin, yet are no crimes, becauſe there is no place for accuſation, every man being his own judg, and accuſed only by his own conſcience, and cleer'd by the uprightneſs of his own intention; and when his intention is right, his fact is no ſin, if otherwiſe, his fact is ſin but not crime: that when the Soveraign power ceaſeth, that is, when the King is ſo oppreſſed that he cannot exerciſe his power, crime alſo ceaſeth, there being no protection where there is no power, which he is careful to repete, whether it be to the purpoſe, or, as ſure it is not, very pertinent in the difference between ſin and crime. And to all that huddle of words in that whole Paragraph, I ſhall ſay no more, but that it looks like the Diſcourſe of ſome men, which himſelf ſaies (*pag.* 39.) *may be numbred amongſt the ſorts of madneſs, namely, when men ſpeak ſuch words, as put together, have in them no*

ſignification at all, by their non-coherence and contradiction.

False Principles of right and wrong cannot but produce many crimes, and the greater the preſumtion of thoſe is who publiſh them, the confuſion that reſults thereby muſt be the greater: and yet notwithſtanding this bundle of falſe Principles which are contain'd in this Book, the ſtrength of the Laws, and the good conſtitution of the Government, hath hitherto, for ought appears, reſiſted the operation and malignity of the Inſtitution of his Soveraignty, with how much confidence ſoever offered by him, and a true and lawful Soveraign could never be induc'd to affect that power which Mr. *Hobbes* ſo frankly aſſign'd to the Soveraign whom he intended to inſtitute. And without doubt that unreaſonable Propoſition, That Juſtice is but a vain word, can never be eſtabliſhed for Reaſon, ſo unanſwerably as by the eſtabliſhment of his Principles, which would make all Laws Cobwebs, to be blown away by the leaſt breath of the Governor; nor by his ratiocination did *Marius*, or *Sylla*, or *Ceſar*, ever commit any crime, ſince they were all Soveraigns by acquiſition, and ſo in his own judgment poſſeſſed of all thoſe powers which ariſe from his Inſtitution, whereby they might do all thoſe acts which they did, and no man could complain of injury or injuſtice, every man being the Author of whatever damage he ſuſtain'd or complain'd of; nor will he be able to lay any crime to any of their charges (tho he ſeems to condemn them) and at the ſame time to ſupport his Inſtitution of a Common-wealth. But it is the leſs wonder, ſince from his own conſtitution, according to his firſt model, and knowing from whence

his

his own obedience proceeds, he concludes, that of all paſſions, that which leaſt inclines men to break the Laws, is fear. He provides ſuch terrible Laws as no body can love, and muſt fear too much to be willing to be ſubject to them, which want of willingneſs muſt make them glad of any alteration, which can bring no ſecurity to the Soveraign. And I cannot enough recommend to Mr. *Hobbes*, that he will revolve his own judgment and determination in in this Chapter, (*pag.* 158.) *That he, whoſe error proceedeth from a peremtory purſuit of his own Principles and reaſonings, is much more faulty then he whoſe error proceeds from the autority of a Teacher, or an Interpreter of the Law publicly autoriz'd; and that he that groundeth his actions on his private judgment, ought, according to the rectitude or error thereof, to ſtand or fall.* And if his fear be ſo predominant in him, as he conceives it to be in moſt men, it will diſpoſe him firſt to enquire what the opinion of the Judges is, who are the autoriz'd Interpreters of Law, before he publiſhes his ſeditious Principles againſt Law, leaſt he be obliged to ſtand or fall, according to the rectitude or error thereof. Tho every Inſtance he gives of his Soveraigns abſolute power, makes it the more unreaſonable, formidable, and odious, yet he gives all the ſupport to it he can deviſe. And indeed, when he hath made his Soveraigns word, a full and enacted Law, he hath reaſon to oblige his Subject to do whatſoever he commands, be it right or wrong, and to provide for his ſecurity when he hath don; and therefore he declares, (*pag.* 157.) *That whoſoever doth any thing that is contrary to a former Law by the command of his Soveraign, he is not guilty of any crime, and ſo cannot be puniſhed, becauſe when the Soveraign commands any*

thing

thing to be don against a former Law, the command as to that particular Fact is an abrogation of the Law; which would introduce a licence to commit Murder, or any other crime most odious, and against which Laws are chiefly provided. But he hath in another place given his Subject leave to refuse the Soveraigns command, when he requires him to do an act or office contrary to his honor: so that tho he will not suffer the Law to restrain him from doing what the Soveraign unlawfully commands, yea his honor, of which he shall be judg himself, may make him refuse that command tho lawful: as if the Soveraign commands him to Prison, as no doubt he lawfully may for a crime that deserves death, he may in Mr. *Hobbes*'s opinion refuse to obey that command: whereas Government and Justice have not a greater security, then that he that executes a verbal command of the King against a known Law, shall be punished. And the Case which he puts in the following Paragraph, that the Kings Will being a a Law, if he should not obey that, there would appear two contradictory Laws, which would totally excuse, is so contrary to the common Rule of Justice, that a man is obliged to believe, when the King requires any thing to be don contrary to any Law, that he did not know of that Law, and so to forbear executing his Command. And if this were otherwise, Kings of all men would be most miserable, and would reverse their most serious Counsels and Deliberations, by incogitancy, upon the suggestion and importunity of every presumtuous Intruder. Kings themselves can never be punished or reprehended publicly (that being a reproch not consistent with the reverence due to Majesty) for their casual

caſual or wilful errors and miſtakes, let the ill conſequence of them be what they will; but if they who maliciouſly lead, or adviſe, or obey them in unjuſt reſolutions and commands, were to have the ſame indemnity, there muſt be a diſſolution of all Kingdoms and Governments. But as Kings muſt be left to God, whoſe Vice-gerents they are, to judg of their breach of Truſt; ſo they who offend againſt the Law, muſt be left to the puniſhment the Law hath provided for them, it being in the Kings power to pardon the execution of the Sentence the Law inflicts, except in thoſe caſes where the Offence is greater to others then to the King; as in the murder of a Husband or a Father, the offence is greater to the Wife and to the Son for their relation, then to the King for a Subject; and therefore, upon an Appeal by them, the Tranſgreſſor may ſuffer after the King hath pardon'd him.

It is a great prerogative which Mr. *Hobbes* doth in this Chapter indulge to his fear, his precious bodily fear of corporal hurt, that it ſhall not only extenuate an ill action, but totally excuſe and annihilate the worſt he can commit, that, if a man by the terror of preſent death be compelled to do a Fact againſt the Law, he is wholly excuſed, becauſe no Law can oblige a man to abandon his own preſervation: and ſuppoſing ſuch a Law were obligatory, yet a man would reaſon, (pag. 157.) *If I do it not I die preſently, if I do it I die afterwards, therefore by doing it there is time of life gain'd, Nature therefore compels him to the Fact*: by which a man ſeems by the Law of Nature to be compell'd, even for a ſhort reprieve, and to live two or three daies longer, to do the moſt infamous and wicked thing that is imaginable;

able: upon which fertile ſoil he doth hereafter ſo much enlarge, according to his natural method, in which he uſually plants a ſtock, ſuppoſes a principle, the malignity whereof is not preſently diſcernable, in a precedent Chapter, upon which in a ſubſequent one he grafts new and worſe Doctrine, which he looks ſhould grow and proſper by ſuch cultivation as he applies to it in Diſcourſe; and therefore I ſhall defer my Conſiderations to the contrary, till I wait upon him in that enlarged diſquiſition.

The Survey of Chapter 28.

THe eight and twentieth Chapter being a Diſcourſe of Puniſhments and Rewards, it was not poſſible for him to forget in how weak a condition he had left his Soveraign, for want of power to puniſh; ſince want of power to puniſh, and want of autority to cauſe his puniſhment to be inflicted, is the ſame thing; eſpecially when the guilty perſon is not only not oblig'd to ſubmit to the Sentence, how juſt ſoever, but hath a right to reſiſt it, and to defend himſelf by force againſt the Magiſtrate and the Law: and therefore he thinks it of much importance, to enquire, by what door the right and autority of puniſhing in any caſe came in. He is a very ill Architect, that in building a Houſe, makes not doors to enter into every office of it; and it is very ſtrange, that he ſhould make his doors large and big enough in his inſtitution, to let out all the liberty and propriety of the Subject, and the very end of his Inſtitution being to make a Magiſtrate to compel men to do their duty (for he confeſſes, they were before obliged by the Law of Nature to perform it one towards another, but that there muſt be a Soveraign Sword to compel men to do that which they ought to do) yet that he ſhould forget to leave a door wide enough for this compulſion to enter in at by puniſhment, and bringing the Offender to Juſtice; ſince the end of making the Soveraign is diſappointed, and he cannot preſerve the peace, if guilty

guilty persons have a right to preserve themselves from the punishment he inflicts for their guilt. It was very improvidently don, when he had the draught of the whole Contracts and Covenants, that he would not insert one, by which every man should transfer from himself the right he had to defend himself against public Justice, tho not against private violence. And surely reason and self-preservation, that makes a man transfer all his Estate and Interest into the hands of the Soveraign, and to be disposed by him, that he may be secure against the robbery and rapine of his neighbors & companions, will as well dispose him to leave his life to his discretion, that it may be secure from the assault of every other man, who hath a right to take it from him. But he thinks life too precious to part with willingly, and therefore cares for no more then to invest his Soveraign with a just title to punish, how unable soever he leaves him to execute it. And truly his fancy is very extraordinary in bringing it to pass. He will not suffer his power to punish to be grounded upon the concession or gift of the Subjects, from which fountain all his other extravagant powers flow, which are as unnatural for them to give, but saies it was originally inherent in him by the right of Nature, by which every man might subdue or kill another man, as he thought best for his own preservation; which right still remain'd in him, when all other men transferred all their rights to him, because he never contracted with them to part with any thing, and so he comes (*pag.* 162.) *to a right to punish, which was not given but left to him, and to him only, as entire as in the condition of mere nature.* Is not this mere fancy without any reason? which he

needed not have exercis'd to ſo little purpoſe, to erect a lawful Power, which any man may lawfully reſiſt and oppoſe. Nor is the right much greater that is left in him, then what, it ſeems, is tacitly reſerv'd to every man, who notwithſtanding all transferring, hath ſtill right to reſiſt the Sword of Juſtice in his own defence, and for ought appears, to kill him that carries it. So that in truth, his Soveraign is veſted in no other autority, then lawfully to fight ſo many Duels as the Law hath condemned men to ſuffer death, ſince he can command none of his Subjects to execute them, and they have all lawful power to defend their own lives. How this right and autority of puniſhing came into the hands of the Soveraign, we ſhall not follow his example in repeting, having before confeſſed, that it neither is nor can be grounded on any conceſſion or gift of the Subject, but is indubitably inherent in the office of being Soveraign, and inſeparably annexed to it by God himſelf.

Corporal, or Capital puniſhment, Ignominy, Impriſonment, or Exile, are not better underſtood then they were before his Definitions and Deſcriptions which he makes of them, and in which he doth not ſo much conſider the nature of a Definition, as that he may inſert ſomwhat into it, to which he may reſort to prove ſomwhat, which men do not think of when they read thoſe Definitions: and aſſuming to himſelf to declare what will ſerve his turn to be the Law of Nature, or the Law of Nations, he makes ſuch Inferences and Conſequences, as he thinks neceſſary to prove his deſperate Concluſions. There cannot be a more pernicious Doctrine, and more deſtructive to Peace and Juſtice, then that all men who are not Subjects are enemies; & that againſt Enemies, whom

whom the Common-wealth judges capable to do them hurt, it is lawful by the original right of Nature to make War; which would keep up a continual War between all Princes, ſince they are few who are not capable to do hurt to their Neighbors. Nor can this miſchief be prevented by any Treaty or League; for whil'ſt they are capable of doing hurt, the lawfulneſs ſtill remains, and being the original right of Nature, cannot be extinguiſhed. But the Wiſeſt and moſt Learned who have wrote of the Law of Nature and of Nations, abominate this Propoſition; and the incomparable *Grotius* ſaies, (*De Jure B. & P. lib. 2. cap. 1. part. 17.*) *Illud minime ferendum eſt, quod quidam tradiderunt, jure gentium arma recte ſumi ad imminuendam potentiam creſcentem, quæ nimium aucta nocere poteſt.* It may be a motive when there is other juſt cauſe in prudence towards the War, but that it gives a title in Juſtice, *ab omni æquitatis ratione abhorret.* And he ſaies in another place (*cap. 22. part. 5.*) that it muſt *conſtare, non tantum de potentia, ſed & de animo; & quidem ita conſtare, ut certum id ſit ea certitudine quæ in morali materia locum habet.* And yet from this erroneous Propoſition, and becauſe in (*pag. 165.*) *War the Sword judgeth not, nor doth the victor make diſtinction of nocent and innocent, nor has other reſpect of mercy, then as it conduceth to the good of his own People*, he makes no ſcruple to tell *Cromwell*, *That as to thoſe who deliberately deny his Autority* (for the *Autority of the Commonwealth eſtabliſhed*, could have no other ſignification) *the vengeance is lawfully extended, not only to the Fathers, but alſo to the third and fourth generations not yet in being, and conſequently innocent of the fact for which they are afflicted, becauſe they that ſo offend ſuffer not as Subjects but as Enemies*,

to-

towards whom the Victor may proceed as he thinks fit and beſt for himſelf. After the giving which advice, it was a marvellous confidence that introduc'd him into the Kings preſence, and encourag'd him ſtill to expect, that his Doctrine ſhould be allow'd to be induſtriouſly taught and believed.

If Mr. *Hobbes* were condemn'd to depart out of the dominion of the Commonwealth, as many men believe he might with great Juſtice be, and ſo become an exil'd perſon, he would be a more competent Judg to determine whether Baniſhment be a puniſhment, or rather an eſcape, or a public command to avoid puniſhment by flight; and he would probably then be of opinion, that the mere change of air is a very great puniſhment. And if he remembers his own Definition, (*pag.* 108.) *That a free-man is he, that in thoſe things which by his ſtrength and wit he is able to do, is not hindred to do what he hath a will to*, he would believe that the taking that freedom from him, and the reſtraining that liberty, is a very ſevere puniſhment, whether juſtly or unjuſtly inflicted, and is in no degree mitigated by his declaring, (*pag.* 165.) that *a baniſh'd man is a lawful enemy of the Common-wealth that baniſhed him, as being no more a member of the ſame*; and then he may be lawfully proſecuted as well in, and after he hath undergon the puniſhment of Baniſhment, as he was before; but the duty that a baniſh'd Perſon ſtill ow's to his Country, and to the Soveraign of it, is ſet down before. But the truth is, he hath very powerfully extinguiſh'd all thoſe differences and priviledges, which all Writers of the *Jus gentium* have carefully preſerv'd between a juſt and unjuſt War, between lawful Enemies and the worſt Rebels and Traitors,

Traitors, and hath put the laſt into a better condition then the former, by making them liable only to thoſe pains and forfeitures which the Law hath literally provided for them, and which in ſome caſes preſerves their Eſtates for their Families; whereas the lawful Enemy, even after quarter given, remains at the mercy of the Victor, who may take his life, and inflict any other puniſhment upon him arbitrarily, and according to his own diſcretion. In the laſt place, he hath very much obliged his Soveraign, in telling him ſo plainly why he hath compared him to *Leviathan*, becauſe he hath raiſed him to the ſame greatneſs, and given him the ſame power which *Leviathan* is deſcribed to have in the 41 Chapter of *Job*, *There is nothing on earth to be compared with him, he is made ſo as not to be afraid, he ſeeth every high thing to be below him, and is King of all the children of pride*, Job 41. 33, 34. And if he had provided as well to ſecure his high ſtation, as he hath for the abatement of the pride of the Subject, whom he hath ſufficiently humbled, he might more glory in his work: but the truth is, he hath left him in ſo weak a poſture to defend himſelf, that he hath reaſon to be afraid of every man, and the remedies he preſcribes afterwards to keep his prodigious power from diſſolution, are as falſe and irrational as any other advice in his Inſtitution, as will appear hereafter.

The

The Survey of Chapter 29.

MR. *Hobbes* takes so much delight in reiterating the many ill things he hath said, for fear they do not make impression deep enough in the minds of men, that I may be pardon'd if I repete again somtimes what hath bin formerly said; as this Chapter consisting most of the same pernicious doctrines which he declar'd before, tho in an other dress, obliges me to make new, or other reflexions upon what was I think sufficiently answer'd before, and it may be repete what I have said before. He is so jealous that the strength of a better composition of Soveraignty may be superior, and be preferr'd before that of his institution, that he devises all the way he can to render it more obnoxious to dissolution, and like a Mountebank Physician accuses it of diseases which it hath not, that he may apply Remedies which would be sure to bring those or worse diseases, and would weaken the strongest parts, and support of it, under pretence of curing its defects. So in the first place he finds fault (pag. 167.) *that a man to obtain a Kingdom is sometimes content with less power, then to the peace and defence of the Common-wealth is necessarily required*, that is, that he will observe the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, which by long experience have bin found necessary for the Peace and defence of it. And to this he imputes the insolence of *Thomas Beckett* Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* (pag. 168.) *who*

who was supported against Harry *the Second by the Pope, the Subjection of Ecclesiastics to the Common-wealth having* he saies *bin dispensed with by* William *the Conquerour at his reception, when he took an oath, not to infringe the liberty of the Church.* And this extravagant power of the Pope he imputes to the Universities and the doctrine taught by them; which reproch to the Universities being in a Paragraph of his next Chapter, I chuse to join in the answer with the case of *Thomas Beckett* and *Henry* the Second.

Mr. *Hobbes* hath so great a prejudice to the reading Histories (as if they were all enemies to his Government) that he will not take the pains carefully to peruse those, from which he expects to draw some advantage to himself; presuming that men will not believe, that a man, who so warily weighs all he saies in the balance of reason, will ever venture to alledg any matter of fact that he is not very sure of. But if he had vouchsafed to look over the Records of his own Country before the time of King *Henry* the Eight, he would have found the Universities allwaies opposed the power of the Pope, and would have no dependance upon him, and that the Kings alone introduc'd his autority, and made it to be submitted to by their Laws. Nor did the Church of *England* owe their large priviledges to any donation of the Popes, whose jurisdiction they would never admit, but to the extreme devotion and superstition of the People, and the piety and bounty of the Kings, which gave greater donatives and exemtions to the Church and Clergy, then any other Kingdom enjoied, or then the Pope gave any where. Christianity in the infancy of it wrought such prodigious

effects in this Iſland upon the barbarous affections of the Princes and People who then were the inhabitants of it, that aſſoon as they gave any belief to the Hiſtory of our Saviour, they thought they could not do too much to the Perſons of thoſe who preached him, and knew beſt what would be moſt acceptable to him. From hence they built Churches, and endow'd them liberally, ſubmitted ſo entirely to the Clergy, whom they look'd upon as Sacred perſons, that they judged all differences, and he was not look'd upon as a good Chriſtian who did not entirely reſign himſelf to their diſpoſal: they gave great exemtion to the Church and Church men, and annex'd ſuch Priviledges to both, as teſtified the veneration they had for the Perſons, as well as for the Faith. And when they ſuſpected that the Licentiouſneſs of ſucceeding ages might not pay the ſame devotion to both, they did the beſt they could to eſtabliſh it, by making Laws to that purpoſe, and obliging the ſeveral Princes to maintain and defend the rights and priviledges of the Church, rights and priviledges which themſelves had granted, and of which the Pope knew nothing, nor indeed at that time did enjoy the like himſelf. It is true, that by this means the Clergy was grown to a wonderful power over the People, who look'd upon them as more then mortal men, and had ſurely a greater autority then any Clergy in Chriſtendom aſſum'd in thoſe ages, and yet it was generally greater then in other Kingdoms, then it hath ever bin ſince. Nor could it be otherwiſe during the Heptarchy, when thoſe little Soveraigns maintain'd their power by the autority their Clergy had with their people, when they had little dependance upon the Prince.

But

But when by the courage and ſucceſs of two or three couragious Princes, and the diſtraction that had bin brought upon them by ſtrangers, the Government of the whole Iſland was reduced under one Soveraign, the Clergy, which had bin alwaies much better united then the Civil ſtate had bin, were not willing to part with any autority they had enjoied, nor to be thought of leſs value then they had bin formerly eſteemed, and ſo grew troubleſom to the Soveraign power, ſomtimes by interrupting the progreſs of their Councils by delaies, and ſomtimes by direct and poſitive contradictions. The Princes had not the confidence then to reſort to Mr. *Hobbes*'s original inſtitution of their right, the manners of the Nation ſtill remained fierce and barbarous, and whatſoever was pliant in them, was from the reſult of Religion, which was govern'd by the Clergy. They knew nothing yet of that primitive contract that introduced Soveraignty, nor of that Faith that introduced ſubjection: they thought it would not be ſafe for them to oppoſe the power of the Sacred Clergy, with a mere ſecular, profane force, and therefore thought how they might leſſen and divide their own troubleſome Clergy, by a conjunction with ſome religious and Eccleſiaſtical combination. The Biſhops of *Rome* of that age had a very great name and autority in *France*, where there being many Soveraign Princes then reigning together, he exercis'd a notable Juriſdiction under the Style of Vicar of Chriſt. The Kings in *England* by degrees unwarily applied themſelves to this ſpiritual Magiſtrate, and that he might aſſiſt them to ſuppreſs a power that was inconvenient to them at home, they ſuffer'd him to exerciſe an autority that

proved afterwards very miſcheivous to themſelves, and for which they had never made pretence before, and which was then heartily oppoſed by the Univerſities, and by the whole Clergy, till it was impos'd upon them by the King. So that it was not the Univerſities, and Clergy, that introduc'd the Popes autority to ſhake and weaken that of the King, but it was the King who introduc'd that power to ſtrengthen, as he thought, his own, howſoever it fell out. And if the precedent Kings had not call'd upon the Pope, and given him autority to aſſiſt them againſt ſome of their own Biſhops, *Alexander* the Third could never have pretended to exerciſe ſo wild a juriſdiction over *Henry* the Second, nor he ever have ſubmitted to ſo infamous a ſubordination; nor could the Pope have undertaken to aſſiſt *Beckett* againſt the King, if the King had not firſt appeal'd to him for help againſt *Beckett*.

For the better manifeſtation of that point, which Mr. *Hobbes* his ſpeculation and Geometry hath not yet made an enquiry into, it will not be amiſs to take a ſhort Survey of the Precedent times, by which it will be evident how little influence the Popes autority had upon the Crown, or Clergy, or Univerſities of *England*; and how little ground he hath for that fancy, from whence ſoever he took it, (pag. 168.) *that* William *the Conquerour at his reception had diſpens'd with the ſubjection of the Eccleſiaſtics, by the Oath he took not to infringe the liberty of the Church*: whereas they who know any thing of that time, know that the Oath he took was the ſame, and without any alteration, that all the former Kings, ſince the crown reſted upon a ſingle head, had taken, which was at his Coronation,

after

after the Biſhops and the Barons had taken their Oaths to be his true and faithful Subjects. The Arch Biſhop, who crown'd him, preſented that Oath to him, which he was to take himſelf, which he willingly did, to defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame, To govern the univerſal people ſubject to him, juſtly, To eſtabliſh equal Laws, and to ſee them juſtly executed. Nor was he more wary in any thing, then (as hath bin ſaid before) that the people might imagine, that he pretended any other title to the Government, then by the Confeſſor: tho it is true, that he did by degrees introduce many of the *Norman* cuſtomes which were found very uſeful, or convenient, and agreeable enough, if not the ſame, with what had bin formerly practis'd. And the common reproch, of the Laws being from time to time put into *French*, carries no weight with it: for there was before that time ſo rude a collection of the Laws, and in Languages as forreign to that of the Nation, Britiſh, Saxon, Daniſh, and Latine, almoſt as unintelligible as either of the other, that if they had bin all digeſted into the *Engliſh* that was then ſpoken, we ſhould very little better have underſtood it, then we do the *French*, in which the Laws were afterwards render'd; and it is no wonder, ſince a reduction into Order was neceſſary, that the King who was to look to the execution, took care to have them in that Language which himſelf beſt underſtood, and from whence iſſued no inconvenience, the former remaining ſtill in the Language in which they had bin written.

Before the time of *William* the Firſt, there was no pretence of juriſdiction from *Rome* over the

Clergy,

Clergy, and the Church of *England*; for tho the infant Christianity of some of the Kings and Princes had made some journies thither, upon the fame of the Sanctity of many of the Bishops who had bin the most eminent Martyrs for the Christian Faith, and when it may be they could with more ease and security make a journy thither, then they could have don to any other Bishop of great notoriety out of their own Country; for Christianity was not in those times come much neerer *England* then *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc* in *France*, and those Provinces had left their bountiful testimonies of their devotion, which grew afterwards to be exercis'd with the same piety in Pilgrimages first, and then expeditions to the Holy Land, without any other purpose of transferring a Superiority over the *English* Nation, to *Rome*, then to *Jerusalem*. And after the arrival of *Austin* the Monk and his Companions, who were sent by Pope *Gregory*, and who never enjoy'd any thing in *England* but by the donation of the Kings, the *Brittish* Clergy grew so jealous of their pretences, that tho the Nation was exceedingly corrupted by the person and the doctrine of *Pelagius*, which had bin spred full two hundred years before *Austin* came, the reformation and suppression of that Heresy was much retarded by those mens extolling or mentioning the Popes autority, which the *Brittish* Bishops were so far from acknowledging, that they would neither meet with them, nor submit to any thing that was propos'd by them, and declar'd very much against the pride and insolence of *Austin*, for assuming any autority, and because when any of them came to him, he would not so much as rise to receive them. I can

hardly

hardly contain my ſelf from enlarging upon this ſubject at this time, but that it will ſeem to many to be forreign to the argument now in debate, and Mr. *Hobbes* hath little reſignation to the autority of matter of fact, by which when he is preſſed, he hath an anſwer ready, that if it were ſo, or not ſo, it ſhould have bin otherwiſe, I ſhall therefore only reſtrain my diſcourſe to the time of *William* the Conqueror, and when I have better inform'd him of the State of the Clergy, and Univerſities of that time, I ſhall give him the beſt ſatisfaction I can to the inſtance of *Thomas* of *Beckett*, in which both the Clergy, and the Univerſities will be eaſily abſolv'd from the guilt of adhering to the Pope.

When *William* found himſelf in poſſeſſion of *England*, whatever application he had formerly made to the Pope (who was then in *France*) and as ſome ſay had receiv'd from him a conſecrated Banner with ſome other relique, beſide one ſingle hair of S. *Peter*, for the better ſucceſs of his expedition, he was ſo far from diſcovering any notable reſpect towards him, that he expreſly forbad all his Subjects from acknowledging any man to be Pope, but him whom he declar'd to be ſo. And there was a Preſident of ſuch a nature in his Reign by *Lanfranke* the Arch-B. of *Canterbury*, who had the greateſt credit and autority with him, as cannot be parallell'd by the like don in any other Chriſtian State, and impoſſible to be don, or permitted in any State that was in any degree ſubject to the Pope, which was the Canonization of a Saint. There being at that time very great fame of *Aldelmus*, who firſt brought in the compoſition of Latine verſe into *England*, and beſides

ſides his eminent Piety, had ſo great a faculty in ſinging, that by the muſic of his voice he wrought wonderful effects upon the barbarous and ſavage humor of that People, inſomuch as when they were in great multitudes engag'd in a rude or licentious action, he would put himſelf in their way and ſing, which made them all ſtand ſtill to liſten, and he ſo captivated them by the melody, that he diverted them from their purpoſe, and by degrees got ſo much credit with them, that he reduc'd them to more civility, and inſtructed them in the duties of Religion, into which, tho they had bin baptiz'd, they had made little enquiry. He lived a little before the time of *Edward* the Confeſſor, and the general teſtimony of the Sanctity of his Life, and ſome miracles wrought by him (which it may be were principally the effects of his Muſic) being reported, and believ'd by *Lanfrank*, *Edicto ſancivit, ut per totam deinde Angliam Aldelmus inter eos, qui civibus cœleſtibus aſcripti erant, honoraretur & coleretur*, as by the authors neereſt that time is remembred, & at large related by *Harps-Field* in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *England* without any diſapprobation. Nor is it probable, that *Lanfrank* who was an *Italian*, born and bred in *Lombardy*, and of great reputation for learning and piety, would have aſſum'd that autority, if he had believ'd that he had intrenched upon the Province of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The truth is, Canonizations in that age were not the chargeable commodities they have ſince grown to be, ſince the Pope hath engroſs'd the diſpoſal of them to himſelf, and it is very probable, that the Primitive Saints, whoſe memories are preſerv'd in the Martyrologies very erroneouſly, were by the joint acknowledgment of the Church

upon the notorious sanctity of their lives, and of their deaths, not by any solemn declaration of any particular autority of *Rome*; otherwise we should find the Records of old Canonization there, as well as we do of so many new. But of so many of this Nation, who suffer'd in the ten first persecutions under the Roman Governors more then of any other, especially if St. *Ursula*, and her Eleven thousand Virgins be reckon'd into the number, there is no other Record but of the daies assign'd for their Festivities. And in their whole *Bullarium*, which for these latter hundred years so much abounds in Canonizations, the first that is extant is of *Vldricke* Bishop of *Ausburg*, by *John* the Fifteenth *Anno* Nine hundred ninety three, in a very different form, and much different circumstances from those which are now used. Finally, if the Popes inhibition or interposition could have bin of any moment in that time of *William* the Conqueror, he would have bin sure to have heard of it, when he seiz'd upon the Plate & Jewels of all the Monasteries, and laid other great impositions upon the Clergy, which they had not bin accustom'd to, and of which they would have complain'd, if they had known whether to have addressed their complaints.

The two next Kings who succeeded him, and reigned long (for *Henry* the First reigned no less then five and thirty years) wore not their Crowns so fast on their heads, in respect of the juster title in their Brother *Robert*, as prudently to provoke more enemies then they had; and therefore they kept very fair quarter with *Paschal*, who was Pope likewise many years, and were content to look on unconcern'd in the fierce quarrels between the Empe-

rour and him, for he was very powerful in *France* tho not in *Italy*. And *Anſelme* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had great conteſts with them both upon the priviledges of the Clergy, and had fled to *Paſchal* to engage him in his quarrel; yet the Pope pretended to no juriſdiction in the point, but courteouſly interceded ſo far with *Henry* the Firſt on the behalf of *Anſelme*, that he made his peace with the King: but when he afterwards deſir'd to ſend a Legate into *England*, the King by the advice of the Biſhops and Nobles, poſitively refus'd to admit him. And whoſoever takes a view of the conſtitution of Chriſtendom, as far as had reference to *Europe* at that time, how far the greateſt Kingdoms and Principalities, which do now controul and regulate that ambition, were from any degree of ſtrength and power; that *Italy* was then crumbled into more diſtinct Governments, then it is at preſent; that *France*, that is now intire, was then under the command of very many Soveraign Princes, and the Crown it ſelf ſo far from any notable ſuperiority, that the King himſelf was ſometimes excommunicated by his own Biſhops and Clergy, without, and againſt the Popes direction, and ſometimes excommunicated, and the Kingdom interdicted by the Pope, even whilſt he reſided in *France*, and in Councils aſſembled by them there, as in the Council of *Clermont*; that *Spain*, that is now under one Monarch, was then divided into the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Valentia*, *Catalonia*, *Navarr*, and *Leon*, when the Moors were poſſeſs'd of a greater part of the whole, then all the other Chriſtian Kings, the whole Kingdom of *Granada* with the greateſt part of *Andaluzia* and *Eſtremadura*, and a great

great part of *Portugal* being then under the Dominion of those Infidels; that *Germany* was under as many Soveraigh Princes as it had names of Cities and Provinces; and that *England*, which hath now *Scotland* and *Ireland* annex'd to it, was then, besides the unsettlement of the *English* Provinces upon the contests in the *Norman* Family, without any pretence to the Dominion of *Wales*, at least without any advantage by it. I say, whosoever considers this, will not wonder at the starts made by many Popes in that age, into a kind of power and autority in many Kingdoms, that they had not before, and which was then still interrupted and contradicted, and that when *Alexander* the Third came to be Pope, who reigned about twenty years, he proceeded so imperiously with our *Henry* the Second upon the death of *Thomas Becket*, even in a time when there was so great a schism in the Church, that *Victor* the Fifth was chosen by a contrary party, and by a Council called at *Pavia* by the Emperour there own'd, and declar'd to be Canonically chosen, and *Alexander* to be no Pope, who thereupon fled into *France*: so that if our King *Henry* the Second had not found such a condescention to be very suitable to his affaires both in *England*, and in *France*, it is probable he would have declin'd so unjust and unreasonable an imposition.

I am afraid of giving Mr. *Hobbes* an occasion to reproch me with impertinency in this digression, tho he hath given me a just provocation to it: and since the *Roman* Writers are so solicitous in the collecting and publishing the Records of that odious Process, and strangers are easily induc'd to believe, that the exercise of so extravagant a jurisdiction

in the Reign of ſo Heroical a Prince, who had extended his Dominions farther by much then any of his Progenitors had don, muſt be grounded upon ſome fix'd, and confeſs'd right over the Nation, and not from an original Uſurpation entred upon in that time, and when the uſurper was not acknowledged by ſo conſiderable a part of Chriſtendom, it may not prove ungrateful to many men, to take a ſhort view of that very time, that we may ſee what unheard of motives could prevail with that high ſpirited King to ſubmit to ſo unheard of Tyranny. That it was not from the conſtitution of the Kingdom, or any preadmitted power of the Pope formerly incorporated into the Laws and cuſtoms of the Kingdom, is very evident, by the like having bin before attemted. For tho the Clergy enjoied thoſe great priviledges and immunities which are mention'd before, whereby they had ſo great an influence upon the hearts of the people, that the Conquerour himſelf had bin glad to make uſe of them, and *William* the Second, *Henry* the Firſt, and King *Stephen* had more need of them to uphold their Uſurpation, yet thoſe priviledges how great ſoever, depended not at all upon the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor was any rank of men more ſolicitous then the Clergy to keep the Pope from a pretence of power in the Kingdom. And the Biſhops themſelves had in the beginning of that Arch-Biſhops contumacious and rebellious conteſts with the King, don all they could to diſcountenance and oppoſe him, and had given their conſent in Parliament, that for his diſobedience all his goods and moveables ſhould be at the Kings mercy: and it was alſo enacted with their conſent (after the Arch-Biſhop had fled out of the

Kingdom, and was known to make ſome application to the Pope) that if any were found carrying a Letter or Mandate from the Pope or the Arch-Biſhop, containing any interdiction of Chriſtianity in *England*, he ſhould be taken, and without delay executed as a Traitor both to the King & Kingdom; that whatſoever Biſhop, Prieſt, or Monk ſhould have, and retain any ſuch Letters, ſhould forfeit all their Poſſeſſions, Goods, and Chattells to the King, and be preſently baniſh'd the Realm with their kin; that none ſhould appeal to the Pope; and many other particulars, which enough declare the temper of that Catholic time, and their averſion to have any dependance upon a forreign juriſdiction. And after the death of *Beckett*, and that infamous ſubmiſſion of the King to the Popes Sentence thereupon (which yet was not ſo ſcandalous as it is vulgarly reported, as if it had bin made and undergon by the King in Perſon) when the ſame King deſir'd to aſſiſt the Succeſſor of that Pope, *Lucius* the Third, who was driven out of *Rome*, and to that purpoſe endeavour'd to raiſe a collection from the Clergy, which the Popes *Nuntio* appear'd in, and hoped to advance, the Clergy was ſo jealous of having to do with the Pope, or his Miniſters, that they declar'd, and adviſed the King, that his Majeſty would ſupply the Pope in ſuch a proportion as he thought fit, and that whatever they gave might be to the King himſelf, and not to the Popes *Nuntio*, which might be drawn into example to the detriment of the King.

The King himſelf firſt ſhewed the way to *Thomas a Beckett* to apply himſelf to the Pope, till when the Arch-Biſhop inſiſted only upon his own Eccleſiaſtical

aſtical rights and power, in which he found not the concurrence of the other Biſhops or Clergy, and the King not being able to bear the inſolence of the man, and finding that he could well enough governe his other Biſhops, if they were not ſubjected to the autority and power of that perverſe Arch-Biſhop, was willing to give the Pope autority to aſſiſt him, and did all he could to perſwade him to make the Arch-Biſhop of *York* his Legate, meaning thereby to deveſt the other Arch-Biſhop of that Superiority over the Clergy that was ſo troubleſom to him, and which he exercis'd in his own right as Metropolitan. But the Pope durſt not gratify the King therein, knowing the ſpirit of *Beckett*, and that he would contemn the Legate, and knew well the Eccleſiaſticall ſuperiority in that Kingdom to reſide in his perſon as Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who, had bin reputed *tanquam alterius Orbis Papa*, yet he ſent to him to adviſe him to ſubmit to the King; whereupon the haughty Prelate then fled out of the Kingdom, and was too hard for the King with the Pope, who was perſwaded by him to make uſe of this opportunity to enlarge his own power, and to curb and ſubdue that Clergy that was indevoted to him; and ſo by his Bull he ſuſpended the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and the other Biſhops who adher'd to the King in the execution of his commands; which ſo much incens'd the King, that he let fall thoſe words in his paſſion, that encouraged thoſe raſh Gentlemen to commit that aſſaſſination, that produc'd ſo much trouble. It muſt alſo be remembred, that the King, when he bore all this from the Pope, was indeed but half a King, having cauſed his ſon *Henry* to be crown'd King with him, who thereupon gave him much

much trouble, and join'd with the *French* King a-gainſt him: and that he had ſo large and great Territories in *France*, that as the Popes power was very great there, ſo his friendſhip was the more behoovfull and neceſſary to the King. Laſtly, and which it may be is of more weight then any thing that hath bin ſaid in this diſquiſition, it may ſeem a very natural judgment of God Almighty, that the Pope ſhould exerciſe that unreaſonable power over a King, who had given him an abſurd and unlawful power over himſelf, and for an unjuſt end, when he obtain'd from our Country-man Pope *Adrian*, who immediately preceded *Alexander*, a Diſpenſation not to perform the Oath which he had taken, that his Brother *Geoffery* ſhould enjoy the County of *Anjou* according to the Will and deſire of his Father, and by vertue of that Diſpenſation, which the Pope had no power to grant, defrauded his Brother of his inheritance, and broke his Oath to God Almighty, and ſo was afterwards forced himſelf to yield to the next Pope, when he aſſum'd a power over him in a caſe he had nothing to do with, and where he had no mind to obey. And this unadviſed addreſs of many other princes to the Pope, for Diſpenſations of this kind to do what the Law of God did not permit them to do, hath bin a principal inlet of his Supremacy, to make them accept of other Diſpenſations from him, of which they ſtand not in need, and to admit other his incroachments from him, which have proved very miſchievous to them. Of the condition of King *John* we need not ſpeak, whoſe Uſurpation, Murders, and abſence of all virtue, made him fit to undergo all the reproches and cenſures which Pope *Innocent* the Third exercis'd

him

him with, when he uſurped upon *France* with equal Tyranny.

The ſucceeding Kings no ſooner found it neceſſary to expel, or reſtrain that power which the Popes had ſo inconveniently bin admitted to, and which they had ſo miſchievouſly improv'd, but the Univerſities not only ſubmitted to, but advanced thoſe Acts which tended thereunto, as appears by the Writings of *Occam*, and other Learned Men in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the Reigns of thoſe Kings both *Edward* the Firſt and *Edward* the Third, in which times as much was don againſt the power of the Pope, as was afterwards don by *Henry* the Eighth himſelf. And the *Gallican* Church would not at this time have preſerved their liberties and priviledges to that degree, as to contemn the power of the univerſal Biſhop, if the Univerſity of the *Sorbone* had not bin more vigilant againſt thoſe incroachments then the Crown it ſelf. So far have the Univerſities bin from being the Authors, or promoters of thoſe falſe Doctrines, which he unjuſtly laies to his charge. And I preſume they will be as vigilant and reſolute, to preſerve the Civil Autority from being invaded and endangered, by their receiving and ſubſcribing to his pernicious and deſtructive principles, which his modeſty is induced to believe may be planted in the minds of men, becauſe whole Nations have bin brought to acquieſce in the great myſteries of Chriſtian Religion which are above reaſon, and millions of men have bin made to believe, that the ſame body may be in innumerable places at one and the ſame time, which is againſt reaſon: and therefore he would have the Soveraign power to make his Doctrine, ſo conſonant to reaſon, to be taught and preached.

preached. But his Doctrine is fit only to be taught by his own Apoſtles, who ought to be looked upon as Seducers, and falſe Prophets; and God forbid that the Soveraign powers ſhould contribute to the making thoſe principles believed, which would be in great danger to be deſtroied, if it were but ſuſpected that they affected to have that power, which he would have to belong to them. And ſuch Princes who have bin willing to believe they have it, have bin alwaies moſt jealous that it ſhould be known, or thought, that they do believe ſo; ſince they know there would be a quick determination of their power, if all their Subjects knew, that they believed, that all they have doth in truth belong to them, and that they may diſpoſe of it as they pleaſe.

(Pag. 168.) *He ſaies a Common wealth hath many diſeaſes, which proceed from the poiſon of Seditious doctrines, whereof one is, That every private man is Judg of good and evil actions,* which is a doctrine never allow'd in any Common-wealth, the Law being the meaſure of all good or evil actions under every Government; and where that Law permits a liberty to the Subject to diſpute the commands of the Soveraign, no inconvenience can ariſe thereby: but if the Soveraign by his own autority ſhall vacate and cancel all Laws, the Common-wealth muſt need be diſtracted, or much weakened.

Mr. *Hobbes* will have too great an advantage againſt any adverſary, if he will not have his Government tried by any Law, nor his Religion by any Scripture: and he could never think, that the believing, that (*pag.* 168.) *whatſoever a man doth againſt his conſcience is ſin,* is a Doctrine to civil So-

ciety repugnant, if he thought any of the Apostles good Judges of Conscience, who all, upon all occasions and in all actions, *commend themselves to every mans conscience*, 2 Cor. 4. 2. as also, *Our rejoicing is this, the Testimony of our conscience*, 2 Cor. 1. 12. and throughout the whole new Testament the conscience is made the Judg of all we do. And if Mr. *Hobbes* had not so often excepted against Divines for being good Judges in Religion, I could tell him of very good ones, who are of opinion, that it is a sin to do any thing against an erroneous conscience, which is his own best excuse, that he will not depart from his own judgment, which is his conscience, how erroneous soever it is. But this liberty of Conscience is restrain'd only to those Cases where the Law hath prescribed no rule; for where the Law enjoins the duty, no private conscience can deny obedience. In case of mis-perswasion, it looks upon the action as sinful in him, and so chuses to submit to the penalty, which is still obedience, or removes into another Climate as more agreeable to his constitution.

If Mr. *Hobbes* propoſes to himself to answer all extravagant discourses or private opinions of seditious men, which have no countenance from publick Autority, he will be sure to chuse such as he can easily confute. All sober men agree, that the faith and sanctity are not to be attain'd only by study and reading, yet that study and reading are means to procure that grace from God Almighty that is necessary thereunto. And himself confesseth, that with all his education, discipline, correction, and other natural waies, it is God that worketh that faith and sanctity in those he thinks fit. So that if he did not think men the more unlearn'd for being

ing Divines, it is probable that there is very little difference between what those unlearned Divines, and himself say upon this point, saving that they may use *inspiring* and *infusing*, which are words he cannot endure as *insignificant speech*, tho few men are deceiv'd in the meaning of them.

If all Soveraigns are subject to the Laws of Nature (as he saies they are) because such Laws are divine, and cannot by any man or Common-wealth be abrogated, they then are oblig'd to observe and perform those Laws which themselves have made, and promised to observe; for violation of faith is against the Law of Nature by his own confession. Nor doth this obligation set any Judg over the Soveraign, nor doth any civil Law pretend that there is any power to punish him, it is enough, that in justice he ought to do it, and that there is a Soveraign in Heaven above him, tho not on Earth.

The next indeed is a Doctrine that troubles him, and tends, as he saies, (pag. 169.) *to the dissolution of a Common-wealth, That every private man has an absolute propriety in his goods, such as excludes the right of the Soveraign*, which if true, he saies, (p. 170) *he cannot perform the Office they have put him into, which is to defend them both from Foreign Enemies, and from the injuries of one another, and consequently there is no longer a Common-wealth.* And I say, if it be not true, there is nothing worth the defending from Foreign Enemies, or from one another, and consequently it is no matter what becomes of the Common-wealth. Can he defend them any other way, then by their own help, with their own hands? and it is a marvellous thing that

any man can believe, that he can be as vigorously assisted by people who have nothing to lose, as by men who defending him defend their own Goods and Estates, which if they do not believe their own, they will never care into what hands they fall. Nor is the Soveraign power divided by the Soveraigns consenting that he will not exercise such a part of it, but in such & such a manner, and with such circumstances, for he hath not parted with any of his Soveraignty, since no other man can exercise that which he forbears to exercise himself, which could be don, if he had divided it. And it is much a greater crime in those who are totally ignorant of the laws, to endeavour by their wit and presumtion to undermine them, then that they who are learn'd in the study and profession of the Law, do all they can to support that, which only supports the Government. Much less is the Soveraign power divided by the Soveraigns own communicating part of it to be executed in his name, to those who, by their education and experience, are qualified to do it much better then he himself can be presumed to be able to do; as to appoint Judges to administer Justice to his people, upon all the pretences of right which may arise between themselves, or between him and them, according to the Rules of the Law which are manifest to them, and must be unknown to him, who yet keeps the Soveraign power in his hands to punish those Deputies, if they swerve from their duty.

To the mischiefs which have proceeded from the reading the Histories of the ancient Greeks and Romans, I shall say no more in this place, then that if Mr. *Hobbes* hath bin alwaies of this opinion, he

was very much to blame to take the pains to tranſlate *Thucydides* into *English*, in which there is ſo much of the Policy of the *Greeks* diſcovered, and much more of that Oratory that diſpoſes Men to Sedition, then in all *Tullies*, or *Ariſtotles* works. But I ſuppoſe he had then, and might ſtill have more reaſon to believe, that very few who have taken delight in reading the Books of Policy and Hiſtories of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, have ever fallen into Rebellion; and there is much more fear, that the reading this and other Books writ by him, and the gloſſes he makes upon them in his converſation, may introduce thoughts of Rebellion into young men, by weakning, and laughing at all obligations of conſcience, which only can diſpoſe men to obedience: and by perſwading Princes, that they may ſafely and juſtly follow the extent of their own inclinations, and appetites in the Government of their Subjects, which muſt tire and wear out all Subjection, at leaſt the cheerfulneſs, which is the ſtrength of it, by leſſening the reverence to God Almighty, which is the foundation of reverence to the King; and undervaluing all Religion, as no otherwiſe known, and no otherwiſe conſtituted then by the arbitriment of the Soveraign Prince, whom he makes a God of Heaven, as well as upon the Earth, ſince he is upon the matter, the only author of the Scripture it ſelf; the ſwallowing of all which opinions, muſt be the deſtruction of all Government, and the ruine of all obedience.

Tho moſt of his reflexions are reproches upon the Government of his own Country, which he thinks is imperfectly inſtituted; yet he cannot impute the doctrine of killing Kings, whether Regi-

cide

cide or Tyrannicide, to that Government, nor the unreaſonable diſtinction of Spiritual and Temporal juriſdiction, to rob the Soveraign of any part of his Supremacy, and divide one part of his Subjects from a dependance upon his juſtice and autority. God be thanked the Laws of that Kingdom admit none of that doctrine, or ſuch diſtinctions to that pernicious purpoſe. Nor do the Biſhops, or Clergy of that Kingdom (however they are fallen from Mr. *Hobbes* his grace) uſe any ſtyle or title, but what is given or permitted to them by the Soveraign power. And therefore this Controverſy muſt be defended by thoſe (who juſtly lie under the reproch) of the Church of *Rome*, who, it may be, conſider him the leſs, becauſe, tho they know him not to be of theirs, they think him not to be of any Religion.

The power of levying Mony, which depending upon any general aſſembly, he ſaies, (pag. 172.) *endangereth the common-wealth, for want of ſuch nuriſhment, as is neceſſary to life and motion*, ſhall be more properly enlarg'd upon in the next Chapter, when, I doubt not, very wholſome remedies will be found for all thoſe diſeaſes which he will ſuppoſe may proceed from thence; but tis to be hoped none will chuſe his deſperate preſcriptions, which will cure the diſeaſe by killing the Patient.

He concludes this Chapter, after all his bountiful donatives to his Soveraign, with his old wicked doctrine, that would indeed irreparably deſtroy and diſſolve all Common-wealths, That when by a powerful invaſion from a foreign Enemy, or a proſperous Rebellion by Subjects, his Soveraign is ſo far oppreſſed that he can keep the field no longer,

ger, his Subjects owe him no farther assistance, and may lawfully put themselves under the Conqueror, of what condition soever; for tho, he saies, (pag. 174.) *The right of the Soveraign is not extinguished, yet the obligation of the members is*, and so the Soveraign is left to look to himself. There are few Empires of the World, which at some time have not bin reduc'd, by the strength and power of an outragious Enemy, to that extremity, that their forces have not bin able to keep the field any longer, which Mr. *Hobbes* makes the period of their Subjects Loyalty, and the dissolution of the Commonwealth; yet of these at last many Princes have recover'd, and redeem'd themselves from that period, & arrived again at their full height and glory by the constancy and vertue of their Subjects, and their firmly believing, that their obligations could not be extinguish'd as long as the right of their Soveraign Monarch was not. So that there is great reason to believe, that the old Rules which Soveraignty allwaies prescribed to it self, are much better, and more like to preserve it, then the new ones which he would plant in their stead; because it is very evident, that the old subjection is much more faithful and necessary to the support and defence of the Soveraignty, then that new one which he is contented with, and prescribes; which he will not only have determin'd as to any assistance of his natural Soveraign, tho he confesses (pag. 174.) *his right remains still in him; but that he is obliged, (so strictly obliged, that no pretence of having submitted himself out of fear, can absolve him) to protect, and assist the Usurper as long as he is able.* So that the entire loss of any one Battel, according to his judgment

of

of ſubjection, and the duty of Subjects, ſhall, or may put an end to the Soveraignty of any Prince in *Europe*. And this is one of the grounds and principles, which he concludes to be againſt the expreſs duty of Princes, to let the people be ignorant of.

If Mr. *Hobbes* had a Conſcience made and inſtructed like other mens, and had not carefully provided, that whilſt his judgment is fix'd under Philoſophical and Metaphyſical notions, his Conſcience ſhall never be diſturb'd by Religious ſpeculations and apprehenſions; it might poſſibly ſmite him with the remembrance, that theſe excellent principles were induſtriouſly inſinuated, divulged and publiſh'd within leſs then two years after *Cromwels* Uſurpation of the Government of the three Nations, upon the Murder of his Soveraign; and that he then declar'd in this Book (pag. 165.) *that againſt ſuch Subjects who deliberately deny the authority of the Common-wealth, then, and ſo eſtabliſhed* (which God be thanked much the major part of the three Nations then did) *the vengeance might lawfully be extended not only to the Fathers, but alſo to the third and fourth generation not yet in being, and conſequently innocent of the fact for which they are afflicted; becauſe the nature of this offence, conſiſts in renouncing of ſubjection, which is a relapſe into the condition of war, commonly called Rebellion, and they that ſo offend, ſuffer not as Subjects, but as Enemies.* And truly he may very reaſonably believe, ſurely more then many things which he doth believe, that the veneme of this Book wrought upon the hearts of men, to retard the return of their Allegiance for ſo many years, and was the cauſe of

ſo

so many cruel and bloody persecutions against those, who still retain'd their duty and Allegiance for the King. And methinks no man should be an Enemy to the renewing war in such cases, but he who thinks all kind of war, upon what occasion soever, to be unlawful; which Mr. *Hobbes* is so far from thinking, that he is very well contented, and believes it very lawfull for his Soveraign, in this Paragraph of cruelty, to make war against any whom he judges capable to do him hurt.

The Survey of Chapter 30.

MR. *Hobbes* having invested his Soveraign with so absolute Power and Omnipotence, we have reason to expect that in this Chapter of his Office, he will enjoin him to use all the autority he hath given him; and he gives him fair warning, that if any of the essential Rights of Soveraignty, specified in his eighteenth chapter (which, in a word, is to do any thing he hath a mind to do, and take any thing he likes from any of his Subjects) be taken away, the Common-wealth is dissolv'd: and therefore that it is his office to preserve those Rights entire, and against his duty to transfer any of them from himself. And least he should forget the Rights and Power he hath bestowed upon him, he recollects them all in three or four lines, amongst which he puts him in mind, that he hath power to leavy mony, when, and as much as in his own conscience he shall judg necessary: and then tells him, that it is against his duty to let the People be ignorant, or mis-informed of the grounds and reasons of those his essential Rights, that is, that he is oblig'd to make his *Leviathan* Canonical Scripture, there being no other Book ever yet printed, that can inform them of those rights, & the grounds and reason of them. And how worthy they are to receive that countenance and autority, will best appear by a farther examination of the Particulars, and yet a man might have reasonably expected from the

the first Paragraph of this Chapter another kind of tenderneſs, indeed as great as he can wiſh, of the good and welfare of the Subject, when he declares, (*pag.* 175.) *That the office of the Monarch conſiſts in the end for which he was truſted with the Soveraign power, namely, the procuration of the ſafety of the People, to which he is obliged by the Law of Nature, and to render an account thereof to God the Author of that Law. But by ſafety*, he ſaies, *is not meant a bare preſervation, but alſo all other contentments of life, which every man by lawful induſtry, without danger or hurt to the Commonwealth, can acquire to himſelf.* Who can expect a more bleſſed condition? Who can deſire a more gracious Soveraign? No man would have thought this ſpecious Building ſhould have its Foundation, after the manner of the fooliſh *Indians*, upon ſand, that, aſſoon as you come to reſt upon it, molders away to nothing; that this ſafety, ſafety improv'd with all the other contentments of life, ſhould conſiſt in nothing elſe, but in a mans being inſtructed and prepar'd to know, that he hath nothing of his own, and that when he hath by his lawful induſtry acquir'd to himſelf all the contentments of life which he can ſet his heart upon, one touch of his Soveraigns hand, one breath of his mouth, can take all this from him without doing him any injury. This is the Doctrine to be propagated, and which he is confident will eaſily be receiv'd and conſented to, ſince if it were not according the principles of Reaſon, he is ſure it is a principle from authority of Scripture, and will be ſo acknowledg'd, if the Peoples minds be not tainted with dependance upon the Potent, or ſcribled over with the opinions of their Doctors.

One of the reaſons which he gives, why his

grounds of the rights of his Soveraign ſhould be diligently and truly taught, is a very good reaſon to believe, that the grounds are not good, becauſe he confeſſes, (*pag.* 175.) that *they cannot be maintain'd by any Civil Law, or terror of legal puniſhment.* And as few men agree with Mr. *Hobbes* in the eſſential Rights of Soveraignty, ſo none allows, nor doth he agree with himſelf, *that all reſiſtance to the rights of the Soveraignty, be they never ſo eſſential, is Rebellion.* He allows it to be a priviledg of the Subject that he may ſue the King, ſo there is no doubt but that the Soveraign may ſue the Subject, who may as lawfully defend as ſue, and every ſuch defence is a reſiſtance to the Soveraign right of demanding, and yet I ſuppoſe Mr. *Hobbes* will not ſay it is Rebellion. He that doth poſitively refuſe to pay mony to the King, which he doth juſtly owe to him, and which he ſhall be compell'd to pay, doth reſiſt an eſſential Right of the King, yet is not guilty of Rebellion, which is conſtituted in having a force to ſupport his reſiſtance, and a purpoſe to apply it that way. And as the Law of Nature is not ſo eaſily taught, becauſe not ſo eaſily underſtood as the Civil Law, ſo I cannot comprehend, why Mr. *Hobbes* ſhould imagine the Soveraign power to be more ſecure by the Law of Nature, then by the Civil Law, when he confeſſes, *That the Law of Nature is made Law, only by being made part of the Civil Law:* and if the Civil Law did not provide a reſtraint from the violation of Faith, by the terror of the puniſhment that muſt attend it, the obligation from the Law of Nature would be a very faint ſecurity to Princes for the obedience of their Subjects. But he chuſes to appeal only to the Law of Nature, wch is a Text ſo few men have read

and underſtand, to ſupport an imaginary Faith that was never given, upon which Soveraignty was founded. For which he hath another reaſon likewiſe; for his Law of Nature is always at hand to ſerve him, when no other Law will. For when you tell him that the Law of Nature forbiddeth the violation of Faith, and therefore that Kings and Princes are obliged to obſerve the Promiſes they make, and the Oaths they take; he anſwers you with great confidence, & great cleerneſs, that *that rule is only obligatory to Subjects*, for that by the Law of Nature, *ſuch Promiſes and Oaths taken by Princes, are* ipſo facto *void, invalid, and bind not at all.* So that by this omnipotent Law of Nature, which is indiſpenſable and eternal, the Sacred Word of a King, which ought to be as fix'd and unmoveable as the center of the Earth, is made as changeable as the Moon; and the breach of Faith, which is ſo odious to God and man, is made lawful for Kings, who are the only Perſons in the World who cannot be perjur'd, becauſe the indiſpenſable Law of Nature will not permit them to perform what they promiſe. And now we ſee the reaſon why the Law of Nature muſt only be able to ſupport that Government, which no Civil Law will be able to do: it remains, that tho there may be a very innocent and lawful reſiſtance of ſome eſſential Rights of the Soveraign, for recovery whereof he may be put to ſue at Law, as hath bin ſaid before, his Soveraign by his right of Interpreting Law, may, as his Inſtitutor here hath don, interpret ſuch reſiſtance to be Treaſon, and ſo confiſcate the Eſtate of the greateſt Subject he hath, who hath an Eſtate that he hath a mind to have.

He would be glad to find ſome anſwer to the want

of

of Preſident, which he ſees will alwaies lie in his way, that there hath not bin hitherto any Commonwealth where thoſe Rights have bin acknowledg'd or challeng'd: but he hath alwaies the ill luck to leave the Objection as ſtrong as he found it; and if he could find no Artificers to aſſiſt in the erecting ſuch a Building as may laſt as long as the Materials, notwithſtanding his skill in Architecture from the principles of Reaſon, his long ſtudy of the nature of Materials, and the divers effects of Figure and Proportion, men would rather chuſe to dwell in the Houſes they have, then to pull them down, and expect till he ſet up better in the place. He muſt give a better evidence then his non-reaſon, that his Government will be everlaſting, before men believe it; and when his Principles from autority of Scripture come to be examin'd, they will be found to have no more ſolidity, then thoſe which he hath produc'd from his long ſtudy and obſervation. In the mean time he ſhall do well to get his Doctrine planted in thoſe Countries, and among that People who are made believe, that the ſame Body may be in innumerable places at one and the ſame time, where poſſibly things equally unreaſonably may be believ'd. And ſince men are to be taught, that they ought not to be in love with any Form of Government more then with their own, nor to deſire change, which he ſaies, (*pag.* 177.) *is like the breach of the firſt of Gods Commandments*, he hath himſelf raiſed one unanſwerable Argument againſt the reception and doctrine of his *Leviathan*. His unskilful reproches upon the Univerſities are ſufficiently refuted in the laſt Chapter.

A man would hardly believe, that the ſame Perſon ſhould

ſhould think it to be of the office of the Soveraign to take care for the making of good Laws, and ſhould ſo frankly declare, That no Law can be conceiv'd to be good, tho it be for the benefit of the Soveraign, if it be not neceſſary for the People, for the good of the Soveraign and the People cannot be ſeparated; and yet at the ſame time determine, that all Laws which eſtabliſh any Propriety to and in the People, are invalid and void, and that it is an eſſential and inſeparable Right in the Soveraign, to levy as much mony at any time, as he in his own conſcience ſhall judg neceſſary. And therefore, tho I think I have in ſeveral places of this Diſcourſe ſufficiently evinc'd the unreaſonableneſs of this Propoſition, and the inconſiſtency of the good and ſecurity of the Soveraign with ſuch a Power, I ſhall here enlarge upon the Diſquiſition thereof, and of the reaſons which induce him to believe, that any kind of reſtraint of his power of raiſing mony, by what conſent of his own ſoever, is no leſs then the diſſolution of the Common-wealth: for this power of taking every mans mony from him, and his goods that will yield mony, is his principal contention throughout his Book, beſides his liberty to lay aſleep, alter, and repeal all Laws according to his will and pleaſure. The expence and charge of the preſervation and maintenance of the Government being uncertain and contingent, and ſo not to be provided for by any conſtant proviſion or revenue, if by any emergent occaſion, upon a ſudden Rebellion or forreign Invaſion, the Soveraign hath not power to raiſe what mony he thinks neceſſary to ſuppreſs the one and reſiſt the other, the Kingdom muſt be loſt; and if he may do it in either of thoſe caſes, he may

do

do it to prevent either; and it ought to be ſuppos'd that he will not take more, tho he may take all, then is abſolutely neceſſary for the occaſion: and this is the ſtrongeſt caſe (and yet is not ſo ſtrong in relation to an Iſland, as it is in relation to an In-land Kingdom) he hath, or can ſuppoſe, for the ſupport of this power, to every part of which this anſwer may be applied.

As there is no Soveraign in *Europe* who pretends to this right of Soveraignty, ſo there was never any Kingdom, or conſiderable Country loſt by want of it, or preſerv'd by the actual exerciſe of it: and the Laws themſelves permit, and allow many things to be don, when the miſchief and neceſſity are in view, which may not warrantably be don upon the pretence of preventing it. The Law of neceſſity is pleadable in any Court, and hath not only its pardon but juſtification; as when, not only a Magiſtrate, but a private man pulls down a houſe or more, which are next to that houſe which is on fire, to prevent the farther miſchief, the Law juſtifies him, becauſe the neceſſity and benefit is as viſible as the fire; yet it would not be juſtice in the Soveraign himſelf, to cauſe a mans houſe to be pulled down that is ſeven miles diſtant, upon a fore-ſight that the fire may come thither. I am not averſe from Mr. *Hobbes*'s opinion, that a man who is upon the point of ſtarving, and is not able to buy meat, may take as much of the meat he firſt ſees, as will ſerve for that meal; and this not only by the Law of Nature, but for ought I know, without puniſhment by any Municipal Law, which ſeldom cancels the unqueſtionable Law of Nature; but this neceſſity will not juſtifie him in the ſtealing or taking by force an Ox

from

from any man to prevent ſtarving for a month together, how poor ſoever the man is, or to rob a Poulterers ſhop, that he may have a ſecond courſe; Neceſſity is not a word unknown, or unconſider'd by the Law. No Subject, who will obey the Law, and ſubmit to that power and autority which he confeſſes to be unqueſtionable in the King, can run into Rebellion; and if he doth, all other Subjects are bound by the Laws to aſſiſt, to ſuppreſs it in that manner, and with that force, and under ſuch conduct and command as the Soveraign directs. If this Rebellion proſpers, let the Soveraigns right be what Mr. *Hobbes* aſſigns him, to levy mony, he will never be able to levy it in the Rebels Quarters, and if they extend their Quarters far, they ſhare the Soveraignty with him; for he appoints thoſe who live in thoſe Quarters, and enjoy protection, to aſſiſt and defend their Protectors. The caſe is the ſame in an actual Invaſion, where the Invaders right grows at leaſt as faſt as the Rebels; and the power of the Soveraign, be it never ſo cheerfully ſubmitted to, can levy mony only where he is obeied, and upon thoſe whoſe hands muſt fight for him, or give him other aſſiſtance; and then the queſtion is, Whether he be not like to be ſtronger by accepting what they are willing to give, then by letting them know that they have nothing to give, becauſe all they have is his. And yet in both theſe caſes of an actual Rebellion, or actual Invaſion, if the King takes any mans mony that he finds (and if he cannot find it, his right to take it will do him little good) not as his own, but as that mans, to be laid out for his own and public defence, and to be repaid by the public, which ought not to be defended at the charge of any pri-

vate man, there will be little complaint of the violation of the Law, and the right of Property will be ſtill unſhaken. But all theſe miſchiefs are to be prevented by the Soveraigns ſagacity and foreſight; and if he may not levy what mony he pleaſes, and thinks requiſite to make preparations to diſappoint all ſuch deſigns of both kinds, it will be too late indeed to do it after, and the Common-wealth cannot but ſuffer by the defect of power.

If the miſchief be only in apprehenſion, there is time to raiſe mony in that way which is provided, and agreed upon for thoſe extraordinary occaſions, by asking their conſent, who can without any complaint or murmur that can prove inconvenient, give preſent directions for the paiment thereof. But what if they refuſe to give; muſt the Common-wealth periſh, and every man in it, whoſe defence the Soveraign hath undertaken, and is bound to. If the Soveraign hath taken all they have before, as he may when he will, they may have nothing left to be taken in thoſe neceſſary ſeaſons, and then what will his obligation to defend them do good? and how are they like to aſſiſt him, when they have nothing to defend but his power to make them miſerable? It is not good to ſuſpect, that Princes will extend their power, how abſolute ſoever it is, to undo their Subjects wantonly and unneceſſarily, nor is it reaſonable to imagine, that Subjects who enjoy Peace and Plenty, will obſtinately refuſe to contribute towards their own preſervation, when both are in danger. But ſince it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe a caſe that never yet fell out, to introduce a Government that was never before thought of, let us admit that it is poſſible, that ſuch an obſtinate Spirit may rule in

that

that Assembly which have the power to raise mony, that they may peremtorily refuse to give any, and by the want thereof the Commonwealth is really like to be dissolv'd; I say, admit this, (tho the same kind of obstinacy, that is, an obstinacy as natural as this, to perform no function they ought to do, will, and must dissolve the Soveraignty of his own institution) the question shall be, Whether this very disease be worthy of such a cure? whether the confess'd possibility of such a danger be fit to be secur'd and prevented by such a remedy? and I think most wise and dispassioned men will believe, that the perpetual inquietude and vexation, that must attend men who are in daily fear to have all they have taken from them, and believe that they have nothing their own to leave to their Children and Family, is too disproportion'd a provision to prevent a mischief that is possible to fall out; and that the hazard of that is more reasonably to be submitted to, then the danger of a more probable revolution from the other distemper. And when he hath heightened the danger his Soveraignty may be in, by all the desperate imaginations his melancholy or fancy can suggest to him, he will find, that no defect of power can ever make a Prince so weak, so impotent, and so completely miserable, as his being Soveraign over such subjects as have nothing to give, because they have nothing that is their own; nor will the conscience of their Soveraign, that he will not do all he may, bring any substantial Cordial to them: but as he saies, that his Soveraign *may command any thing to be don against Law, because his command amounts to a repeal of that Law, for he that can make himself free, is free*; so they will think, that he that can be undon at the plea-

ſure of another man, is undon already, and that every day is but the Eve of his deſtruction, and therefore will think of all ways to prevent it; and he knows the effect of fear too well, to think that a man who is in a continual fright can be fix'd in a firm obedience.

His Commentary upon the ten Commandments, which in his judgment comprehends and exacts all his Injunctions contain'd in his *Leviathan*, and his other Theological Speculations, I refer to the conſideration and examination of his Friends the Divines, who no doubt will be well pleaſed to find him a better Caſuiſt, now he comes to revolve the tenth Commandment in this his thirtieth Chapter, then he was in his twenty ſeventh Chapter, in his gloſs upon the ſame Text; for there he determines clearly, (*pag.* 151.) that *to be delighted in the imagination only of being poſſeſſed of an other mans goods, or wife, without intention to take them from him by force or fraud, is no breach of this Law, Thou ſhalt not covet: nor the pleaſure a man hath in imagining the death of a man, from whoſe life he expects nothing but damage and diſpleaſure, any ſin.* The buſineſs he then had, was to find excuſes and extenuations for ſins; but now having occaſion better to conſider that Commandment, of which he ſtood in need, he finds, that the very intention to do an unjuſt act, tho hinder'd, is injuſtice, which conſiſteth in the pravity of the Will, as well as in the irregularity of the act; as if in the former caſe, all that delight in the imagination of being poſſeſſed of another mans Wife, or the pleaſure one has in thinking of the death of a man he doth not love, could be without any pravity of the Will. 'Tis true, a purpoſe and intendment

may

may be more criminal then a mere complacency; but we know more or leſs do not change the Species of things. And for the beſt way of inculcating all his uſeful Doctrines, and ſetting aſide certain daies to infuſe (which upon ſo good an occaſion will not offend his ſevere ear) the ſame into the hearts of the People, which he conceives to be a duty enjoin'd by the fourth Commandment, I ſhall defer my opinion till the end of the next Chapter, when upon the view of all his Doctrines by retail, we may better conſult upon the method of ſpreading them abroad. In the mean time he muſt not take it ill, that I obſerve his extreme malignity to the Nobility, by whoſe bread he hath bin alwaies ſuſtain'd, who muſt not expect any part, at leaſt any precedence in his Inſtitution; that in this his deep meditation upon the ten Commandments, and in a conjuncture when the Levellers were at higheſt, and the reduction of all degrees to one and the ſame was reſolv'd upon, and begun, and exercis'd towards the whole Nobility with all the inſtances of contemt and ſcorn, he choſe to publiſh his judgment; as if the ſafety of the People requir'd an equality of Perſons, and that (*pag.* 180.) *the honor of great Perſons is to be valued for their beneficence, and the aids they give to men of inferior rank, or not at all; and that the conſequence of partiality towards the great, raiſed hatred, and an endeavor in the People to pull down all oppreſſing and contumelious greatneſs*; language lent to, or borrowed from the Agitators of that time.

He ſeems to think the making of good Laws to be incumbent on the Soveraign as his duty, and of much importance to his Government; but he ſaies then, (*pag.* 181.) *that by a good Law, he doth not mean a juſt*

juſt Law, for that no Law can be unjuſt, becauſe it is made by the Soveraign Power. And in truth, if the uſe of Laws is not to reſtrain men from doing amiſs, and to inſtruct and diſpoſe them to do well, and to ſecure them when they do ſo, they are of no uſe at all, and it is no matter if there be any Laws or no. For, to make uſe of his own illuſtration, (*pag.* 182.) *Hedges are ſet to ſtop Travellers, and to keep them in the way* that is allow'd and preſcrib'd, and for hindering them to chuſe a way for themſelves, tho a better and nearer way; and Laws are made to guide, and govern, and puniſh men who preſume to decline that rule, and to chuſe another to walk by, that is more agreable to their own appetite or convenience. He renews his trouble to find fit Counſellors for his Soveraign, which he hath ſo much conſider'd before, and finds the office to be as hard as the Etymology (of which let the Grammarians and he agree) and ſaies plainly, (*pag.* 184.) *that the Politics is a harder ſtudy, then the ſtudy of Geometry:* and probably he believes that he can ſet down as firm Rules in the one, as there are in the other. (*pag.* 184.) *Good counſel,* he ſaies, *comes not by lot or inheritance, and therefore there is no more reaſon to expect good advice from the rich, or the noble, in the matter of State, then in delineating the dimenſions of a Fortreſs*; and is very ſolicitous, like a faithful Leveller, that no man may have priviledges of that kind by his birth or deſcent, or have farther honor then adhereth naturally to his abilities; whereas in all well inſtituted Governments, as well among the Ancient as the Modern, the Heirs and Deſcendants from worthy and eminent Parents, if they do not degenerate from their vertue, have bin alwaies allow'd a preference,

and

and kind of title to employments and offices of honor and truſt, which he thinks (*pag.* 184.) *inconſiſtent with the Soveraign power*, tho they muſt be conferd by him: and the Pedegree of thoſe pretences from the *Germans*, is one of thoſe dreams which he falls into, when he invades the quarters of Hiſtory to make good his aſſertions.

Laſtly, ſince he reckons the ſending out Colonies, and erecting Plantations, the encouraging all manner of Arts, as Navigation, Agriculture, Fiſhing, and all manner of Manufactures, to be of the Policy and Office of a Soveraign, it will not be in his power to deny, that his Soveraign is obliged to perform all thoſe promiſes, and to make good all thoſe conceſſions and priviledges which he hath made and granted, to thoſe who have bin thereby induc'd to expoſe their Fortunes and their Induſtry to thoſe Adventures, as hath bin formerly enlarg'd upon in the caſe of Merchants and Corporations, and which is directly contrary to his Concluſions and Determinations. And I cannot but here obſerve the great vigilance and caution, which Mr. *Hobbes* (who hath an excellent faculty of employing very ſoft words, for the bringing the moſt hard and cruel things to paſs) uſes out of his abſtracted love of juſtice, towards the regulating and well ordering his poor and ſtrong people, whom he tranſplants into other Countries for the eaſe of his own; whom he will by no means ſuffer to exterminate thoſe they find there, but only to conſtrain them to inhabit cloſer together, and not to range a great deal of ground; that is in more ſignificant words, which the tenderneſs of his nature would not give him leave to utter, to take from them the abundance they poſſeſs, and reduce them

them to such an assignation, that they may be compell'd, if they will not be perswaded, (*pag.* 181.) *to court each little plot with art and labor to give them their sustenance in due season.* And if all this good Husbandry will not serve the turn, but that they are still over-charg'd with Inhabitants, he hath out of his deep meditation prescrib'd them a sure remedy for that too, (*pag.* 181.) *War*, which he saies *will provide for every man by victory, or death*; that is, they must cut the throats of all men who are troublesom to them, which without doubt must be the natural and final period of all his Prescriptions in Policy and Government.

The

The Survey of Chapter 31.

AFter he hath form'd such a Kingdom for man, as is agreeable to his good will and pleasure, he concludes this second part of his Discourse, by assigning the one and thirtieth Chapter to the consideration of the Kingdom of God by nature, concerning which, he enlargeth himself with less reservation in the third part of his Discourse which immediatly follows, and therefore I shall make no reflexions upon what he saies concerning it, till we come thither: nor upon his Worship and Attributes which he assigns to God, or rather what are not Attributes to him; in which, under pretence of explaning or defining, he makes many things harder then they were before. As all men who know what the meaning of knowledg and understanding is, know it less after they are told, that it is (*pag.* 190.) *nothing else but a tumult in the mind, raised by externall things, that presse the organical parts of mans body.* And I must confess, he hath throughout this whole Chapter with wonderful art, by making use of very many easie, proper, and very significant words, made a shift to compound the whole so involv'd and intricate, that there is scarce a Chapter in his Book, the sense whereof the Reader can with more difficulty carry about him, and observe the several fallacies and contradictions in it. Of which kind of obscurity Mr. *Hobbes* makes as much use, as of his brightest elucidations, and having the Sove-

raign power over all definitions: which he uſes not (as is don in Geometry, which he ſaies, is *the only ſcience it hath pleaſed God hitherto to bestow upon man-kind*) as preliminaries or *poſtulata*, by which men may know the ſetled ſignification of words, but reſerves the prerogative to himſelf, to give new Definitions as often as he hath occaſion to uſe the ſame terms, that when it conduces to his purpoſe, he may inform his Reader, or elſe perplex him. And therefore he doth not think himſelf ſafe in the former plain Definition which he gives of underſtanding, (*pag.* 17.) that it is *nothing elſe but conception cauſed by ſpeech; by which, ſpeech being peculiar to man, underſtanding muſt be peculiar to him alſo*: but now being in his one and thirtieth Chapter, and to deprive God of underſtanding, that Definition will not ſerve his turn, ſince it cannot be doubted that God doth hear all we ſay; and therefore we are to be amuzed by being told, (*pag.* 190.) that underſtanding is nothing elſe *but a tumult of the mind, raiſed by external things, that preſs the organical parts of mans body: So that there being no ſuch thing in God, and it depending on natural cauſes, cannot be attributed to him.* And now he is as ſafe as ever he was, and let him that finds no tumult in his mind, that preſſes the organical parts of his body, get knowledg and underſtanding as he can.

I am not willing, under pretence of adjourning ſome reflexions, which would be natural enough upon this Chapter, to a more ſeaſonable occaſion, for enlargement upon the third part of his Diſcourſe, to be thought purpoſely to pretermit ſome of his Expreſſions in this Chapter, which ſeem to have ſomwhat of Piety and of Godlineſs in them, and to raiſe hope that his purpoſes are yet better then they

appear'd

appear'd to be. After all that illimitted power he hath granted to his Soveraign, and all that unreſtrain'd obedience which he exacts from his Subject, he doth in the firſt Paragraph of this Chapter frankly acknowledg, (*pag.* 186.) that *the Subjects owe ſimple obedience to their Soveraign, only in thoſe things wherein their obedience is not repugnant to the Law of God,* and is very ſolicitous ſo to inſtruct his Subject, that for want of entire knowledg of his duty to both Laws, he may neither by too much civil obedience offend the Divine Majeſty, or through fear of offending God, tranſgreſs the Commandments of the Commonwealth; a circumſpection worthy the beſt Chriſtian, and is enough to deſtroy many of the Prerogatives which he hath given to his Soveraign, and to cancel many of the Obligations he hath impos'd upon his Subject. But if the Reader will ſuſpend his judgment till he hath read a few leaves more, he will find, that Mr. *Hobbes* hath bin wary enough to do himſelf no harm by his ſpecious Divinity, but hath a *ſalvo* to ſet all ſtreight again; for he makes no ſcruple of determining, (*pag.* 199.) *That the Books of the holy Scripture, which only contain the Laws of God, are only Canonical, when they are eſtabliſh'd for ſuch by the Soveraign power.* So that when he hath ſuſpended obedience to the Soveraign in thoſe things wherein their obedience is repugnant to the Law of God, it is meant only till the Soveraign declares that it is not repugnant to the Law of God; with other excellent Doctrine, the examination whereof we muſt not anticipate before its time; and ſhall only wonder at his devout proviſion, (*pag.* 191.) *that Praiers and Thanksgiving to God, be the beſt and moſt ſignificant of honor.* And whereas moſt

pious men are of opinion, that those Devotions being the most sincere, and addressed to none but to God himself, who at the same time sees the integrity of the heart, ought to be without the least affectation of Word, or elegance of Expression; he will have them *(pag. 192.) made in words and phrases, not sudden and plebeian, but beautiful and well compos'd, for else we do not God so much honor as we may*: and therefore he says, *Though the Heathen did absurdly to worship Images for Gods, yet their doing it in verse and with music, both of voice and instrument, was reasonable.*

I cannot omit the observation of his very confident avoiding that place in the Scripture, *(pag. 193.) It is better to obey God then man*, which he could not but find did press him very hard, and was worthy of a better answer, then that it *hath place in the Kingdom of God by pact, and not by nature*; which if it be an answer, hath not that perspicuity in it, which good Geometricians require, and the answer stands much more in need of a Commentary, then the Text, which he will supply us with in the next Edition. However, let it be as it will, he hath, he says, *(pag. 193.) recover'd some hope, that at one time or other this writing of his may fall into the hands of a Soveraign who will consider it himself, (he acknowledg'd at that time no Soveraign but Cromwell) and without the help of any interessed or envious Interpreter, and by the exercise of entire Soveraignty in protecting the public teaching it, convert the truth of speculation into the utility of practice.*

It is one of the unhappy effects, which a too gracious and merciful Indulgence ever produces in corrupt and proud natures, that they believe that whatsoever is tolerated in them, is justified and commend-

ed;

ed, and becauſe Mr. *Hobbes* hath not receiv'd any ſuch brand which the Authors of ſuch Doctrine have bin uſually mark'd with, nor hath ſeen his Book burn'd by the hand of the Hang-man, as many more innocent Books have bin, he is exalted to a hope, that the ſupreme Magiſtrate will at ſome time ſo far exerciſe his Soveraignty, as to protect the public teaching his Principles, and convert the truth of his Speculation into the utility of practice. But he might remember, and all thoſe who are ſcandaliz'd, that ſuch monſtrous and ſeditious Diſcourſes have ſo long eſcaped a judicial Examination and Puniſhment, muſt know, that Mr. *Hobbes* his *Leviathan* was printed & publiſh'd in the higheſt time of *Cromwell*'s wicked uſurpation; for the vindication and perpetuating whereof, it was contriv'd and deſign'd, and when all Legal power was ſuppreſs'd; and upon his Majeſties bleſſed return, that merciful and wholſom Act of Oblivion, which pardon'd all Treaſons and Murders, Sacriledg, Robbery, Hereſies and Blaſphemies, as well with reference to their Writings as their Perſons, and other Actions, did likewiſe wipe out the memory of the Enormities of Mr. *Hobbes* and his *Leviathan*. And this hath bin the only reaſon, why the laſt hath bin no more enquired into then the former, it having bin thought beſt, that the impious Doctrines of what kind ſoever, which the licenſe of thoſe times produc'd, ſhould rather expire by neglect, and the repentance of the Authors, then that they ſhould be brought upon the ſtage again by a ſolemn and public condemnation, which might kindle ſome parts of the old Spirit with the vanity of contradiction, which would otherwiſe, in a ſhort time, be extinguiſh'd: and it is only in Mr. *Hobbes*

his

his own power to reverſe the ſecurity that Act hath given him, by repeting his former Errors, by making what was his Off-ſpring in Tyrannical Times, when there was no King in *Iſrael*, his more delibe-rate and legitimate Iſſue and Productions, in a time when a lawful Government flouriſhes, which cannot connive at ſuch bold Tranſgreſſors and Tranſgreſſi-ons; and he will then find, that it hath fallen into the hands of a Soveraign that hath conſider'd it very well, not by allowing the public teaching it, but by a declared deteſtation and final ſuppreſſion of it, and enjoining the Author a public recantation.

We ſhall conclude here our diſquiſition of his Po-licy and Government of his Commonwealth, with the recollecting and ſtating the excellent Maximes and Principles upon which his Government is found-ed and ſupported, that when they appear naked, and uninvolv'd in his magiſterial Diſcourſes, men may judg of the liberty and ſecurity they ſhould en-joy, if Mr. *Hobbes* Doctrine were inculcated into the minds of men by their Education, and the Induſtry of thoſe Maſters under whom they are to be bred, as he thinks it neceſſary it ſhould be; which Principles are in theſe very terms declared by him.

1. *That the Kings word is ſufficient to take any thing from any Subject when there is need, and that the King is Judg of that need.* pag. 106. cap. 20. part. 2.

2. *The Liberty of a ſubject lieth only in thoſe things, which in regulating their actions,*

the

the Soveraign hath pretermitted, ſuch as is the liberty to buy and ſell, and otherwiſe to contract with one another; to chuſe their own abode, their own diet, their own trade of life, and inſtitute their children as they themſelves think fit, and the like. pag. 109. cap. 21. par. 2.

3. *Nothing the Soveraign can do to a ſubject, on what pretence ſoever, can properly be called injuſtice or injury.* pag. 109.

4. *When a Soveraign Prince putteth to death an innocent ſubject, tho the action be againſt the Law of Nature, as being contrary to Equity, yet it is not an injury to the ſubject, but to God.* pag. 109.

5. *No man hath liberty to reſiſt the word of the Soveraign; but in caſe a great many men together, have already reſiſted the Soveraign power unjuſtly, or committed ſome capital crime, for which every one of them expecteth death, they have liberty to join together, and to aſſiſt and defend one another.* pag. 112.

6. *If a Soveraign demand, or take any thing by pretence of his power, there lieth in that caſe no action at Law.* pag. 112.

7. *If*

7. *If a ſubject be taken Priſoner in war, or his perſon, or his means of life be within the guards of the Enemy, and hath his life and corporal liberty given him, on condition to be ſubject to the Victor, he hath liberty to accept the condition, and having accepted it, is the ſubject of him that took him.* pag. 114.

8. *If the Soveraign baniſh the ſubject, during the baniſhment he is no ſubject.* pag. 114.

9. *The obligation of ſubjects to the Soveraign, is as long, and no longer then the power laſteth, by which he is able to protect them.* pag. 124.

10. *Whatever Promiſes or Covenants the Soveraign makes, are void.* pag. 89.

11. *He whoſe private intereſt is to be judged in an aſſembly, may make as many friends as he can; and tho he hires ſuch friends with money, yet it is not injuſtice.* pag. 122. cap. 22. part. 2.

12. *The propriety which a ſubject hath in his Lands, conſiſteth in a right to exclude all other ſubjects from the uſe of them, and not to exclude their Soveraign.* pag. 128. cap. 24. part. 2.

13. *When*

13. *When the Soveraign commandeth a man to do that which is against Law, the doing of it is totally excus'd; when the Soveraign commandeth anything to be don against Law, the command as to that particular fact is an abrogation of the Law.* pag. 157. cap. 27. part. 2.

14. *Tho the right of a Soveraign Monarch cannot be extinguish'd by the act of another, yet the obligation of the members may; for he that wants protection, may seek it any where, and when he hath it, is oblig'd (without fraudulent pretence of having submitted himself out of fear) to protect his Protector as long as he is able.* pag. 174. cap. 29. part. 2.

If upon the short reflexions we have made upon thele several Doctrines, as they lie scattered over his Book, and involv'd in other Discourses, which with the novelty administers some pleasure to the unwary Reader, the contagion thereof be not enough discover'd, and the ill consequence and ruine that must attend Kings and Princes who affect such a Government, as well as the misery insupportable to Subjects who are compelled to submit to it; it may be, the view of the naked Propositions by themselves, without any other clothing or disguise of words, may better serve to make them odious to King and People; and that the first will easily discern, to how high

a pinacle of power soever he would carry him, he leaves him upon such a Precipice, from whence the least blast of Invasion from a Neighbor, or from Rebellion by his Subjects, may throw him headlong to irrecoverable ruine: and the other will as much abhor an Allegiance of that temper, that by any misfortune of their Prince they may be absolv'd from, and cease to be Subjects, when their Soveraign hath most need of their obedience. And surely if these Articles of Mr. *Hobbes*'s Creed be the product of right Reason, and the effects of Christian Obligations, the Great Turk may be look'd upon as the best Philosopher, and all his Subjects as the best Christians.

The

Third Part.

The Survey of Chapters 32, 33, 34.

AS we had no reason to expect a rational discourse of civil Government and Policy, when the opinion and judgment of all Lawyers were excluded, and all establish'd Laws contradicted, so we may well look for a worse of Christian Politics, when the advice of all Divines is positively protested against, and new notions of Divinity introduc'd, as rules to restrain our conceptions, and to regulate our understandings. And as he hath not deceiv'd us in the former, he will as little disappoint us in the latter. But having taken a brief survey of the dangerous opinions, and determinations in Mr. *Hobbes* his two first parts of his *Leviathan*, concerning the constitution, nature, and right of Soveraigns, and concerning the duty of Subjects, which he confesses *contains doctrine very different from the practice of the greatest part of the world*, and therefore ought to be watched with the more jealousy for the novelty of it; I shall not now accompany him through his remaining two parts in the same method, by taking a view of his presumtion in the interpretation of severall places of Scripture, and making very unnatural deductions from thence to the lessening the dignity of Scripture,

pture, and to the reproch of the higheſt actions don by the greateſt Perſons by the immediate command of God himſelf. For if thoſe marks, and conditions which he makes neceſſary to a true Prophet, and without which he ought not to be believed, were neceſſary, *Moſes* was no true Prophet, nor had the Children of *Iſrael* any reaſon to believe, and follow him, when he would carry them out of *Egypt*; for he concludes from the Thirteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and the five firſt verſes thereof, (pag. 197.) *that God will not have miracles alone ſerve for Argument to prove the Prophets calling; for the works of the* Egyptian *Sorcerers, tho not ſo great as thoſe of* Moſes, *yet were great miracles; and that how great ſoever the miracles are, yet if the intent be to ſtir up revolt againſt the King, or him that governeth by the Kings Authority, he that doth ſuch miracles is not to be conſider'd otherwiſe, then as ſent to make trial of their Allegiance*, for he laies thoſe words in the text *revolt from the Lord your God, are in this place equivalent to revolt from the King; for they had made God their King by pact at the foot of Mount* Sinai: whereas *Moſes* had no other credit with the people, but by the miracles which he wrought in their preſence, and in their ſight; and that which he did perſwade them to, was to revolt and withdraw themſelves from the obedience of *Pharaoh*, who was, during their abode in *Egypt*, the only King they knew and acknowledged. So that in Mr. *Hobbes*'s judgment the people might very well have refuſed to believe him; and all thoſe Prophets afterwards who propheſied againſt ſeveral of the Kings, ought to have bin put to death, and the Argumentation againſt the Prophet *Jeremy* was

very

very well founded, when the Princes ſaid unto the King, *Jer.* 38. 4. *We beſeech thee let this man be put to death, for thus he weakeneth the hands of the men of war*, when he declar'd that the City ſhould ſurely be given into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. But Mr. *Hobbes* is much concern'd to weaken the credit of Prophets, and of all who ſucceed in their places; and he makes great uſe of that Prophets being deceiv'd by the old Prophet *in the firſt of Kings*, when he was ſeduced to eat and drink with him. Whereas he might have known, that that Prophet was not ſo much deceiv'd by an other, as by his own willfulneſs, in cloſing with the temtation of refreſhing himſelf by eating and drinking; chuſing rather to believe any man of what quality ſoever, againſt the expreſs command that he had received from God himſelf.

What his deſign was to make ſo unneceſſary an enquiry into the Authors of the ſeveral parts of Scripture, and the time when they were written, and his more unneceſſary inference, that *Moſes* was not the Author of the Five Books which the Chriſtian world generally believe to be written by him, tho the time of his death might be added afterwards very warrantably, and the like preſumtion upon the other Books, he beſt knows; but he cannot wonder that many men, who obſerve the Novelty and poſitiveneſs of his aſſertions, do ſuſpect, that he found it neceſſary to his purpoſe, firſt to leſſen the reverence that was accuſtom'd to be paid to the Scriptures themſelves, and the Autority thereof, before he could hope to have his interpretation of them hearken'd unto, and received; and in order to that, to allow them no other Autority, but what they re-

ceive

ceive from the Declaration of the King; ſo that in every Kingdom there may be ſeveral, and contrary Books of Scripture; which their Subjects muſt not look upon as Scripture, but as the Soveraign power declares it to be ſo; which is to ſhake or rather overthrow all the reverence, and ſubmiſſion which we pay unto it, as the undoubted word of God, and to put it in the ſame ſcale with the *Alcoran*, which hath as much autority by the ſtamp which the Grand *Signior* puts upon it in all his Dominion; and all the differences and Controverſies, which have grown between the ſeveral Sects of *Mahometans*, which are no fewer in number, nor proſecuted with leſs animoſity between them, then the diſputes between Chriſtians in matter of Religion, have all proceeded from the ſeveral gloſſes upon, and readings of the *Alcoran*, which are preſcribed or tolerated by the ſeveral Princes in their reſpective Dominions, they all paying the ſame ſubmiſſion and reverence to *Mahomet*, but differing much in what he hath ſaid and directed; and by this means the Grand *Signior*, and the *Perſian*, and the petty Princes under them, have run into thoſe Schiſms, which have given Chriſtianity much eaſe and quiet. This is a degree of impiety Mr. *Hobbes* was not arrived at when he firſt publiſhed his Book *de Cive*, where tho he allowed his Soveraign power to give what Religion it thought fit to its Subjects, he thought it neceſſary to provide it ſhould be Chriſtian, which was a caution too modeſt for his *Leviathan*. Nor can it be preſerved, when the Scriptures, from whence Chriſtianity can only be prov'd and taught to the people, are to depend only for the validity thereof, upon the will, underſtanding, and autority

rity of the Prince, which (with all poſſible ſubmiſſion, reverence, and reſignation to that Earthly power, and which I do with all my heart acknowledg to be inſtituted by God himſelf, for the good of mankind) hath much greater dignity in it ſelf, and more reverence due to it, then it can receive from the united Teſtimony and Declaration of all the Kings and Princes of the world. With this bold Prologue of the uncertain Canon of Scripture, he takes upon him as the foundation of his true ratiocination (pag. 207.) *to determine out of the Bible the meaning of ſuch words, as by their ambiguity may* (he ſaies) *render what he is to infer upon them obſcure and diſputable.* And with this licence he preſumes to give ſuch unnatural explanations, deſcriptions, and definitions to ſeveral words and terms, which in themſelves have no difficulty, as diſturbs the whole Analogy of Scripture, and expoſes thoſe expreſſions, which are dictated by the ſpirit of God, in his light and comical interpretations, to the mirth of thoſe who are too much inclin'd to be merry with the Scripture, and to the ſcandal of all men who are piouſly affected, and look upon the Sacred Writings with that devotion that becomes them. And upon theſe foundations, with much more confidence then any of the Primitive Fathers of the Church aſſum'd to themſelves, he proceeds to the interpretation of ſeveral Texts of Scripture, in a different ſenſe from what thoſe Fathers, and all other men but himſelf, have underſtood them to ſignify.

I ſhall not therefore, as I ſaid, wait upon him in the particular Survey of his gloſſes upon, and interpretations of the ſeveral Texts of Scripture, with which

which he is bold, not only for my own incompetency in thoſe high Myſteries, but becauſe I am not ſure that it is a work fit for the moſt accompliſh'd perſon in the knowledg of Tongues, and the moſt difficult points of Divinity, to undertake, and to argue and contend with him upon, and to anſwer his vain and light conceptions; leſt the ſobriety and gravity of Scripture be too much expoſed to the critical Licence of Grammarians, or the greater licentiouſneſs of petulant and profane Perſons, who chuſe the Scripture for both the matter, and the language for the argument of their common and looſeſt diſcourſes; which exorbitancy is much propagated ſince the publication of Mr. *Hobbes* his Writings. And therefore it may be fitter for a general diſapprobation and diſcountenance by the Soveraign power, or Eccleſiaſtical autority, as a diſcourſe which introduces a corruption of manners in the minds of men, and expoſes Religion to the irreverent examination of diſſolute perſons, and proſtitutes the ſacred myſteries of our Faith, the Incarnation of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, the Trinity, the Sacraments, the precious pledges of our Salvation, to a Philoſophical and Mathematical inquiſition; and under the notion of tranſlating proper and ſignificant words and terms, in the underſtanding whereof all Learned men have agreed, into vulgar and common Language, which no terms of any Art ever admitted, hath in truth traduced the whole Scheme of Chriſtianity into Burleſque, and rais'd conceptions of it, very much inferiour to the ſublime importance of that profeſſion which muſt carry us to Heaven. It will hardly be believed that Mr. *Hobbes* intended to advance the eſtimation and reſignation

on that is due from mankind to the everlasting word of God, when he took such impertinent pains to enquire (Cha. 36.) and examine, what the word of God is, and to exercise his fancy in many inferences, deductions, and distinctions upon several texts of Scripture, where that expression (the word of God) is used, and in the understanding whereof there was never before any difficulty conceiv'd to be. And there could no benefit accrew to the People, by communicating a criticism to them; whereby they must believe (pag. 223.) *that God spake these words and said,* are less Gods words then *I am the Lord thy God,* as if the last could have a due efficacy and regard, if they all are not understood to be spoken by him. In which kind of unnecessary Learning and curiosity he seems to recreate himself upon all the Texts of Scripture, which he thinks fit to apply to his use, and in which he takes much pains to mend many expressions in Scripture, for the impropriety of Speech, without accusing the translation; as these words of *Eliah* to God, 1 Kings 18 36. *I have don all these thy words,* which he saies *are instead of* (which, I suppose he means, would be better) (pag. 223.) *I have don all these things at thy word,* and the like upon many other sayings of the Prophets.

Since after all his learned examination, and careful ratiocination, and too light a mention of the several parts of Scripture, and the Authors thereof, he is at last compell'd to confess, that (p. 204.) *he sees not any reason to doubt, but that the old and new Testament, as we have them now, are the true Registers of those things which were don and said by the Prophets and Apostles*; (p. 205.) *and that it is believ'd on all hands, that the first, and original Author of them*

is God; it is to be wish'd that he had chosen rather to have acquiesc'd under the modest and prudent resolution of his third Paragraph of this Chapter, that when any thing is written in the Scripture too hard for our examination, we are bidden to captivate our understanding to the words, and not to labour in sifting out a Philosophical truth by Logic of such mysteries as are not comprehensible, nor fall under any rule of natural Science; because he saies very well (p. 195.) *that it is with the mysteries of our Religion, as with wholsome pills for the sick, which swallowed whole have the virtue to cure, but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect*: I say it is great pitty that he had not rather rested under that sober consideration, then embark'd himself, in the two next Chapters, in a Sea of new and extravagant interpretations of several texts of Scripture, without any other autority then of his own ungovern'd fancy, which can only amuse men with the novelty into impertinent enquiries, or dispose them to believe, that he hath not that reverence to the Scripture, or adoration of the Author of it, that would become him to have.

The Survey of Chapters 35, 36.

WHEN he had exercis'd his unruly fancy and imagination, upon making it as doubtful what is Scripture, and the ſenſe and meaning thereof as difficult, as he was able to do, he proceeds in the two next Chapters (the thirty fifth and thirty ſixth) to the examination of the true ſignification of many words, terms, and expreſſions us'd in all Theological diſcourſes, what the meaning of Kingdom of God, of Holy, and Sacred, of the Word of God, and of Prophets is, upon the interpretation of which there hath never yet bin any doubt made, or controverſy amongſt Chriſtians. And after the whole foundation of Chriſtian Religion is laid upon the word of God, and ſo often mention throughout the Scripture of ſeveral particular words ſpoken by God, and with ſuch declaratory circumſtances, that he is ſaid to have ſpoken face to face, and as a man ſpeaks to his friend, as he did to *Moſes*, Mr. *Hobbes* takes great pains to make it believ'd, that he never ſpake at all, and then we can have none of his words; in which, whatever other intention he hath, he declines his own rule, which he had preſcrib'd in the foregoing Chapters, *to captivate his underſtanding to the words, and not to labour in ſifting out a Philoſophical truth by Logic of ſuch myſteries as are not comprehenſible, nor fall under any Rules of natural Science.* Nor is it probable that he had a purpoſe to raiſe more veneraci-

on towards the holy Prophets recorded in the ſacred ſtory, when he took ſuch pains to examine the Etymology of their title and appellation, which he ſaies, (pag. 224) *ſometimes ſignifies a foreteller of things to come, and ſometimes one that ſpeaketh incoherently, as men that are diſtracted*; and thence goes to their commiſſion, & qualification, how they came to know the will and pleaſure of God. And when he hath brought their titles as low as he thinks fit, and their qualifications as mean, he is contented that the name of a Prophet (pag. 225.) *may be given not improperly to them, that in Chriſtian Churches have a calling to ſay publick Praiers for the Congregation.* But that they may not be too much exalted with the vocation, he allows prophecy to *ſignify that which Women may do in the Church*: and at laſt is content that the Heathen Poets ſhall likewiſe be called Prophets: all which he concludes from ſeveral texts of Scripture, which he chuſes to make uſe of. What man of a ſincere and pious heart, could in order to contradict the literal ſenſe of that expreſſion and Argument of the Prophet *David*, and which may well be underſtood literally, *Shall he that made the Eie, not ſee? and he that made the Ear, not hear?* controul it by ſuch an inſtance as would be little leſs then Blaſphemy to repete? and to which I ſhall only apply a ſage ſaying of his own (pag. 34.) *that an Anatomiſt, or a Phyſician may ſpeak or write his judgment of uncleen things, becauſe it is not to pleaſe but profit; but for another man to write his extravagant and pleaſant fancies of the ſame, is, as if a man from being tumbled in the dirt, ſhould come and preſent himſelf before good company*; an animadverſion he will do well to remember upon many occaſions wherein he tranſgreſſes it.

What

What his deſign was by torturing ſo many Texts of Scripture, to make it believ'd, that the extraordinary Prophets in the old Teſtament took no other notice of the word of God, nor had any other knowledg of it then from apparitions, and dreams, that is to ſay, (pag. 227.) *from the imagination which they had in their ſleep or in an extaſy*, may well be ſuſpected, when he contributes ſo little to advance the reverence that is due to Gods word, or the honour that is due to the memory of thoſe Saints, the Prophets; neither the one, or the other being in any degree improved, to ſay no worſe of it, by the whole diſcourſe of that his Firſt Chapter: in which he thinks he hath ſaid enough to perſwade his diſciples, from ſo many Texts of Scripture, and his commentaries upon them, that the Soveraign power is the Soveraign Prophet, who hath under God the Autority to govern the People, and that they are bound to obſerve for a rule (pag. 232.) *that Doctrine which he hath commanded to be taught, and thereby to examine, and try the truths of thoſe Doctrines which pretended Prophets with miracle, or without, ſhall at any time advance.* And it is the more obſervable, that he gave this Soveraign power to *Cromwell*, and annex'd to it this Soveraign Propheſy, that he might eſtabliſh his Throne for ever. Nor could he have in all this any intention ſo oppoſite to his purpoſes, as when he had ſubjected all Laws to his Sword without any violation of juſtice, to ſubdue the Goſpel too, to the ſame arbitriment, that he might reform the one, as he had don the other. And the rather, becauſe, tho the Law was quiet, whilſt his Soveraign power proceeded according to his own inſtitution without any controul, yet the Goſpel was trou-

troubleſome to him by the noiſe of his own Clergy, who had interpreted the Scripture according to his own ſpirit, and purpoſes, whilſt the conteſt was with the King; but now found that all his own deſigns, and aſſuming the Soveraignty himſelf, was expreſly againſt the word of God: and they found ſo much credit with the people, that they had ſo long deluded, that he foreſaw a ſtorm coming againſt him that he could hardly ride out. And therefore Mr. *Hobbes* brought him a very ſeaſonable relief, in makeing a doubt, when novelties were ſo much in requeſt, and the minds of the people ſo well prepar'd to hearken to what they had never before heard of, whether there were any ſuch thing as the word of God, at leaſt that that was not it which they took to be ſo; and that if the Ten Commandements were agreeable to his ſenſe, yet that they were not words ſpoken by him: and then in bringing the autority, and qualifications of the Prophets themſelves ſo low that there was room enough left to doubt, whether they were alwaies in the right. From whence he might eaſily expoſe his Enemies, who ſucceed them in the office of informing and inſtructing them in the Laws, and good pleaſures of God, as men without a lawful miſſion, and autority to pronounce thoſe things they do. And upon thoſe weighty reaſons, he takes upon him to adviſe the people, to be very circumſpective, (pag. 230.) *and wary in obeying the voice of man, that pretending himſelf to be a Prophet requires us to obey God in that way, which he in Gods name tells us to be the way to happineſs. For he in that pretends to govern them, that is to ſay to rule, and reign over them, which is a thing that all men naturally deſire, and is therefore worthy to be ſuſpected of Ambition,*

tion, and imposture, and consequently ought to be examin'd, and tried by every man, before he yields them obedience. And having thus depriv'd the rule, the word of God, by which they were to walk, and vilified the Preachers who are to instruct them, how they may observe that rule, he hath enough amus'd them, to refer them for a complete and perfect information, and satisfaction to his Soveraign power, who is his Soveraign Prophet, that is *Cromwell* himself, to be told by him what they are to believe, and what they are to do, and to conform themselves thereunto, and, in his absence, to what they shall be directed by those who are autoriz'd by him to inform them, it being reasonably to be presum'd, that they are (p. 232.) *men, to whom God hath given a part of the Spirit of their Soveraign.*

I wish with all my heart that it were within my comprehension how Mr. *Hobbes* can be absolv'd from this naughty and impious discourse, since he could not hope thereby to render himself gracious to any other Soveraign upon Earth; since they all detest the power he would invest them with, as a means to extirpate Christian Religion out of their Dominions, which depends solely upon the universal veneration to the Scriptures, upon which, if secular, and politic interests did not fan a small Fire (that would easily be extinguish'd) into a flame, there are not in sixteen hundred years, many such differences grown in the interpretation thereof, as must exclude any pious believer from Heaven, if in his life he carefully observes those Precepts in the understanding whereof every man of all parties agrees. Nor hath he therein gratified the Pope himself, who is willing to embrace all encroachments by which he

may

may be a gainer, and uſes his faculty of interpreting, to purpoſes monſtrous enough, yet he pretends not to make what he pleaſes canonical Scripture. If the Clergy, whoſe learning is approved, and whoſe manners are blameleſs, are not fit to inſtruct the People, whither ſhall they repair for information? There may be ſome ignorant men amongſt them, who themſelves need to be inſtructed; and yet there is a Claſſis of men, who may learn much even from them, if they are honeſt men. And there may be ſome ſeditious amongſt them, who maliciouſly pervert the Scripture, and corrupt thoſe who ſhould be taught by them: but as there are Laws very ſtrict for the puniſhment of ſuch, ſo none are more glad to ſee thoſe puniſhments inflicted, or forwarded to promote it, then the venerable part of their own order, whoſe known abilities ought not to be prejudic'd nor their integrity ſuſpected for the infamy of the other. God was never well ſerv'd, nor the King religiouſly obeied, when, and where the Clergy was deſpis'd, or undervalued.

Mr. *Hobbes* is ſo much delighted with his inſtitution by Covenant, that he will not ſuffer God himſelf to have a Dominion over the Children of Iſrael (p. 217.) *but under an inſtitution by pact*, which he ſaies, *is an addition to his ordinary title to all Nations.* Indeed that their obligations to his Divine Majeſty were increaſed by his communication of himſelf, and his gracious promiſes to them above other Nations, is very true: but that he ſhould thereby have a greater dominion over them then he had over the whole Earth beſides, is not eaſy to be underſtood; tho he makes that aſſumtion the groundwork of the greateſt part of his diſcourſe and ratio-

tiocination, contain'd throughout this his Third part. Only whereas the ſecurity of his Soveraign conſiſts only in the Covenants between the people to one another, without any obligation from the Soveraign to them, this Soveraignty which he hath provided for God Almighty, is more perfect, and depends upon the Covenant which God himſelf firſt entred into; and then the contract entred into on their part, like the ſealing the Counter-part, which he draws up as formally between them, as he did the transferring and aſſigning each others right in the former eſtabliſhment: and all this tranſaction he makes good by the expreſs words of Scripture. No man can now blame him for wiſhing for ſuch a Soveraign, who would take the Bible from every other body, and put it into his hand, with a Commiſſion to interpret it. But till he had gotten that delegation, he ſhould have forborn making ſuch a ſtory out of the 17. *Gen.* 7, 8. (pag. 216.) *of a Covenant on Gods part*, and I know not what *contract and promiſe on* Abrahams *part*, that muſt conſtitute a neerer relation, and give God a greater power over them then he had before; whereas there was nothing like a promiſe from God to *Abraham* of the land of *Canaan* for an everlaſting poſſeſſion in the 17. of *Geneſis*, which he had not made to him many years before. He might have found the original promiſe in the 12. Chapter, when God commanded him to go out of his Country, and from his Kindred, and then promis'd to make of him a great Nation, to bleſs them that bleſſed him, and to curſe them that curſed him, and (which was greater then all the reſt) that in him ſhould all the Families of the Earth be bleſſed. *Abraham* makes no reply, but up-

on the command left his Country, and departed from *Haran*, when he was seventy five years old, and took his journy towards the Land of *Canaan*, and passed through the Land unto the place of *Sichem*, unto the plain of *Moreh*; and the *Canaanite* was then in the Land. Which expression so natural to the relation, and History, he thinks ground enough for him to deny that *Moses* was author of the Book of *Genesis*, because that expression (he saies,) (pag. 200.) *must be the words of one that wrote when the* Canaanite *was not in the Land*, which is an inference without shadow of reason. When he was in the Land of *Canaan* God appear'd to him again, and said, Unto thy Seed will I give this Land. And he was then by a famine driven into *Egypt*: and so much time passed, that when he return'd towards *Bethel* from whence he went into *Egypt*, his riches were so much increased, that *Lot* and he were compelled to part, that they might have more room to live in. And then God appear'd again to *Abraham*, and said, Lift up thine eies, and look from the place where thou art, &c. For all the Land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy Seed for ever, when he had yet no seed. After his Sacrifice he appear'd to him again, and it is said made a Covenant with *Abraham*, saying no more upon the matter then he had promis'd before, only describing the extent of the Land that he would give to his Seed, from the river of *Egypt*, to the great river, the river *Euphrates*. What did God promise more to *Abraham*, and what farther Covenant was entred into between them, in this 17. Chap. when Mr. *Hobbes* dates the Covenant, when *Abraham* was ninety nine years old, then he had don four and twenty years before, and what did *Abraham* do more then he had

had don before, towards any contract on his part? It is true that God enjoined him, that every man-child amongst them should be circumcis'd, which is his (pag. 219.) *old Covenant.* And it is true, *Abraham*, and his Seed did so punctually observe that injunction, that the omission thereof was never imputed to them, and so could not be the cause of any of the calamities they sustain'd afterwards for four hundred years in *Egypt*, or after their deliverance, when their miseries at worst little exceeded, what they may be thought to have suffer'd there. Where he found that Dialogue between God and *Abraham* that makes the Covenant mutual, other men know not.

There is no inconvenience, nor would it be incongruous to suppose, that *Abraham* upon such an immense benefit, and honour promis'd to him by God, and so often repeted to him, did make some humble acknowledgment, and promise of duty, and obedience on his part. And it appears he did whatsoever he was commanded, and assoon as he was commanded, he left his Country, to live amongst strangers, enjoin'd circumcision, and observ'd all that he was commanded, to obtain a great reward that his Posterity was to receive five hundred years after; but for any man to digest this obedience into a style and method of words, to no other end, but to establish a new extravagant fancy of his own, and that he may thereby create a peculiar Kingdom for God, more then his illimited power over the universe had intitled him to, and put a new interpretation upon the Kingdom of God, so often us'd in Scripture, as it thereby is properly, & only meant the Commonwealth of the *Jews* (pag. 218.) *instituted by the consent of those who were to be Subject*

thereunto for their civil Government, and regulating their behaviour towards God their King, whom they rejected, and depos'd when they demanded a King from *Samuel*: and to confirm this by so many gloſſes upon ſeveral texts of Scripture, is worthy only of the confidence of the Author of the *Leviathan*. But he will make all this good when he comes to Mount *Sinai*, where he ſaies, this Covenant was renewed. There indeed, after all their murmurings for Bread, and for Fleſh, and for Water, that they might not imagine that all the promiſes which God had made to their forefathers, gave them a title to the continuance of his protection, and bleſſing, in ſpight of all their backſliding and Rebellion, and as a Preface to his Ten Commandments, and the Law which he then publiſh'd to them, God commanded *Moſes* to put them in mind of the great deliverances he had wrought for them, and to tell them, that if they would obey his voice indeed, and keep his covenant, then they ſhould be a peculiar Treaſure unto him above all people, and they ſhould be unto him a Kingdom of Prieſts, an holy Nation, the Natural ſignification whereof according to all Interpreters, is, that he would in a more peculiar maner make himſelf known to them, by giving them laws whereby they might know how to pleaſe him, and aſſigning them a Prieſthood, to offer ſuch Sacrifices for them to him, as would be acceptable. And their anſwering together, All that the Lord hath ſpoken we will do, and what they ſaid afterwards to *Moſes* in the fright and conſternation they were in upon the Thunder and Lightning from the Mount, Speak thou to us and we wil hear, but let not God ſpeak with us leaſt we die, contained no more upon the matter, then

the ſame profeſſions which they had often made before upon their recollection after their ſeveral loud tranſgreſſions. God was not from that time more gracious to them, or reckoned them more his own choſen people, then before, when he fed them with *Manna* and *Quailes*, nor did they think that they had entred into a new and ſtricter obligation to him: as appears by their making the *Golden-calf*, and worſhipping it ſo ſoon after, even before God had finiſh'd his ſpeaking to them. So that the Contract on their behalf, whereby God himſelf was more their King then he had bin formerly, or they more the Kingdom of God then they were before, is drawn up only by Mr. *Hobbes* above three thouſand years after the tranſaction.

The

The Survey of Chapter 37.

I Should make no reflexion upon the thirty ſeventh Chapter of Miracles, and their uſe (tho it may be ſome men may imagine, that he hath a mind to leſſen the faith of the greateſt Miracles which have bin wrought) if, to expreſs the humility of his reſignation to his Soveraign, he did not make him the ſole Judg of all Miracles which ſhall be wrought within his Dominions: and in this extaſie of his Allegiance, in ſpight of all the Demonſtrations he hath made in his Kingdom of Darkneſs, the fourth part of his Inſtitutes, of the abſurdity, contradiction, and impoſſibility in the *Roman* Doctrine of the Sacrament, he very frankly beſtows upon the King the ſole power of determining the Point of Tranſubſtantion; which if he concludes in the Affirmative, no Subject muſt preſume to contradict it. By which he hath made the Pope, and the Roman Church amends for the many merry reproches he hath caſt upon them, in allowing it to be good Divinity in all thoſe Dominions where the Soveraign is Popiſh, and of which no private reaſon or conſcience, but the public reaſon, the reaſon of the King is Judg. And tho he preſerves to himſelf, and other private men, the prerogative of believing or not believing in his heart, becauſe thought is free, yet that muſt not be diſcover'd, becauſe he makes it the obligation of Subjects, not only to do, but to ſay all that their Soveraign commands them to ſay or do;

by

by which he introduces ſuch a licence of diſſimulation and hypocriſie, as is odious in the civil actions of our life, but moſt deteſtable in the eies and judgment of God and Man, in all acts which concern Religion, and the Worſhip of his Divine Majeſty. And it is very reaſonably to be doubted, that this looſe determination in matters of Faith, by a man who is thought to have digged very deep in all the Mines of Natural Reaſon, hath contributed very much to that uncontroulable ſpirit, which by the extravagance of fancy, invention and imagination, hath made ſuch confuſion both in the ſpeculation and practice of Religion in this diſtracted Kingdom; and by his making that which God hath manifeſtly commanded, liable to be controul'd, or to receive autority from the pleaſure of the King, that both God and the King are leſs reverenced, and their Precepts leſs regarded, then they have uſ'd to be in this Nation.

That he may the better draw himſelf out of thoſe intricacies into which he is involv'd by this unneceſſary diſcourſe of Miracles, he reſorts to his Soveraign power in his definitions; and tho he had before confeſs'd, (*pag.* 197.) *That the works of the Egyptian Sorcerers, tho not ſo great as thoſe of* Moſes, *were yet great Miracles*; now he defines a Miracle, (*pag.* 235.) *to be the mark of God (beſides his operation by the way of Nature ordain'd in the creation) don for the making manifeſt to his Elect, the miſſion of an extraordinary Miniſter for their ſalvation*: which definition of his own, and his own alone, is all his proof he makes, (*pag.* 235.) that *the Devil, or an Angel, or other created ſpirit, cannot do a Miracle*: which as the Soveraign of Logic too, he makes good by as ſtrange an Argument: *It muſt be by virtue of ſome natural*

Science,

Science, or by Incantation; if it be by their own power independent, there is ſome power that proceedeth not from God, which all men deny: and if they do it by power given them, then is the work not from the immediate hand of God, but natural, and conſequently no Miracle, which is agreeable to his definition. But if it be by the permiſſion of God, why is it natural, and therefore no Miracle? Hath not God frequently permitted the Devil to do Miracles? and if his Providence did not reſtrain him, he would work Miracles enough to do more miſchief. And if the Devil turn'd himſelf into the Serpent, or taught the Serpent to ſpeak ſo like an Orator, for the ſeduction and cozenage of poor *Eve*, neither was natural, and cannot be look'd upon as leſs then a Miracle; which hath furniſh'd a modern fanciful Divine with an excuſe for *Eves* being deluded, that not imagining a Serpent could ſpeak, and having never heard of the Devil, ſhe concluded it to be an Angel, whom ſhe knew God had created. And now he finds, contrary to his former confeſſion, (*pag.* 236.) *That the Magicians of* Egypt *were Impoſtors, and did no great matter, for that when the rod ſeem'd a Serpent, or the waters blood, becauſe it was not to the edification of Gods people,* which his definition requires, *nor the rod, nor the water was enchanted, but the Spectator; ſo that the Miracle conſiſted only in this, that the Enchanter had deceiv'd a man, which is no Miracle.* And ſo *Pharaoh*, and his whole Court, who were the Spectators, and are thought to have underſtood as much of Natural Cauſes, as any who have ſucceeded them, and from that exceſs of underſtanding believ'd God the leſs, as they ſtill do who look too much into Natural

tural Cauſes, and thoſe learned *Egyptians* muſt be all deluded and cheated by the deception of their own eyes. Methinks the Text cited by himſelf, *If a Prophet riſe among you, &c. and ſhall pretend the doing of a miracle, and the miracle come to paſs, thou ſhalt not hearken unto him, &c.* Deut. 13. is a ſufficient evidence, that ſuch Miracles may be don, contrary to Mr. *Hobbes*'s Aſſertion. Nor is it eaſie to imagin how he will anſwer or avoid that Text, *For they are the ſpirits of devils, working miracles, &c. Revel.* 16. 14. which ſhall ſuffice for anſwer to his magiſterial definition of Miracles, and argumentation thereupon.

Mr. *Hobbes* had don well to have communicated the reaſon or autority, if he hath any beſides his own definition, that induced him to determine, (*pag.* 235.) that *the end of all the miracles of* Moſes, *of the Prophets, of our Saviour, and of his Apoſtles, was to add men to the Church, not all men, but ſuch as ſhould be ſaved, that is to ſay, ſuch as God had elected.* And upon that aſſumtion he takes upon him to declare, that the reaſon why our Saviour could not, or would not work any Miracles in his own Country, was, (*pag.* 235.) becauſe our Saviour *being ſent from his Father, he could not uſe his Power in the converſion of thoſe whom his Father had rejected*; which is a new Doctrine, and beſides the barbarity of it, is irrational to think, that all the People of *Nazareth*, where our Saviour had vouchſafed to live, and converſe above thirty years of his life, ſhould be reprobated by God to everlaſting damnation. Beſides that his Greek Criticiſm, which he diſlikes, that puts, he would not, for he could not, it is evident enough that our Saviour did work Miracles even there, for

he laid his hands upon ſick folks, and healed them, Mark 6. 5. which was amongſt his greateſt Miracles; and it may very probably be believ'd, that ſome of his Diſciples, if not of his very Apoſtles, were of his own Country. Surely the making it incapable of receiving any benefit by the ranſom he paid, ſeems to be againſt the literal and declar'd end of his Sufferings, and the Promiſe of his Father.

The

The Survey of Chapter 38.

WHen the Wiſdom of God himſelf hath erected two Pillars for the ſupport of Religion, and the propagation thereof, and to defend it from being invaded by Profaneneſs and Atheiſm, the one of Heaven, for the reward of thoſe who ſerve him with devotion and integrity; and the other of Hell, for the puniſhment and terror of thoſe who neglect his commands, and contemn his menaces: and when all the Prophets in the Old, and the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles in the New Teſtament, have even contended to make the joies of the one as great and everlaſting, and the pains of the other as inſupportable and eternal, as their Sacred faculties could enable them to do, that men might be allured to chuſe that which is ſo pleaſant, and to tremble at that which is ſo terrible: and that moſt of the Fathers of the Church, and all the Doctors and Preachers of Chriſtianity (of how different Opinions ſoever in other Points of Faith) have ſtill proſecuted the ſame method, as the beſt Argument to diſpoſe men to virtue, and the love of God, and to reſtrain them from vice, as the way that leads to the Devil: it may appear very wonderful, and no leſs ſcandalous to diſ-paſſioned men, that after ſixteen hundred Years Mr. *Hobbes* ſhould ariſe a new Evangeliſt, to make the joies of Heaven more indifferent, and the pains of Hell leſs formidable, then ever any Chriſtian hath before attemted to do,

by impertinent inquiries where the place of either of them is to be, as if he would be well content that they ſhould be no where, and to determine by Philoſophical mediums, that there can be no eternity of pain in the one, how laſting ſoever the joies may be in the other. I do not complain of his bringing down Heaven to the Earth, nor his raiſing and placing Hell upon the ſame level, in which ſome Learned Men ſeem not to differ much from him, tho it ſeems to me to be contradicted by the very words and expreſſion of the Creation. For if God *divided the waters that were above the firmament, from the waters that were under the firmament, and the waters under the firmament became dry land, and was Earth, and the firmament was called Heaven,* Gen. 1. it is not conceivable, that the Heaven and the Earth can be upon one and the ſame level. Which ſeems likewiſe to be oppos'd by that Text, *But thoſe that ſeek my ſoul to deſtroy it, ſhall go into the lower parts of the earth,* Pſal. 63. 9. which implies ſomwhat that is deeper then the Grave, and at leaſt, that Hell is either under the Earth, or that it cannot be underſtood that it is upon the ſame level with Heaven, if it could deſcend to keep Court upon the Earth; which yet methinks receiv'd a greater confirmation by St. *Paul, Now that he aſcended, what is it, but that he alſo deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the earth?* Eph. 4. 9.

Let the place be where it will, we know Gods habitation and reſidence in the one, muſt make it as glorious as any body hath conceiv'd it to be; and his abſence, and hot diſpleaſure, muſt make the other as painful. Nor am I concern'd in his aſſigning Chriſts Reign to be upon the Earth; which as it was an opinion that had many partizans in the firſt Ages

of

of Christianity, so it seems to get much ground in the minds of many Learned Men in the present; tho he makes his Reign longer upon Earth then ever the Millenarians imagin'd it to be, and indeed confines him to it for ever. But that Mr. *Hobbes* should perswade men to believe, (*pag.* 240.) that the Kingdom of Heaven is *nothing else, but the Kingdom of the King that dwelleth in Heaven*, by which he is himself already as much in Heaven as he desires to be; and (*pag.* 243.) that all *that is said in the Scripture concerning hell fire, is spoken metaphorically, and that a proper sense should be enquired after (since all Metaphors may be expressed in proper words) both of the place of hell, and the nature of the torments and tormentors*, methinks it should be thought a matter of that consequence, as is more fit to be confuted by censure and chastisement, then by refelling the Arguments of his presumption. In the mean time, as he professes to find nothing in Scripture that makes it apparent to him, *that the soul is immortal, and a living creature independent upon the body*; so he seems much pleased with the mortality of the whole human Nature, which *Job* complains of, *There is hope of a tree, but man dieth, and wasteth away, yea man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? Man lieth down, and riseth not till the heavens be no more.* Job 14. 7, 12. From whence he seems to conclude (if his very words do not make it plain) *that the soul as well as the body is buried in the grave, at least till the resurrection.* This monstrous liberty and license in forming a new Faith for himself, without any Soveraign advice or approbation, a Faith never before own'd or avowed by any Christian, may make men wonder why he is so severe against Atheists, whom he will not allow (*pag.* 186.) to

be

be *Subjects in the Kingdom of God; nor they that believe not that God has any care of the actions of man-kind, because they acknowledg no word for his, nor have hope of his rewards, or fear of his threatnings. They* (he ſaies) *that believe there is a God that governs the world, and hath given precepts, and propounded rewards and puniſhments to man-kind, are Gods Subjects; all the reſt are to be underſtood as enemies:* whereas in truth, there is very little difference between a man that underſtands no Precepts of his, and him who believes thoſe to be his Precepts or his Permiſſions, which are contrary to his Commandments; or between thoſe who have no hope of his reward, or fear of his threatnings, and thoſe who believe, and perſwade others to believe, that the rewards which he hath propounded are of much leſs value then they are eſteemed to be, and the puniſhment which he threatens, to be leſs terrible, and of ſhorter duration then they are underſtood; and take upon them to ſuſpend the inflicting of any puniſhment at all upon the greateſt ſinners until the end of the world, by the mortality of the Soul, equal to that of the Body, and ſo to undergo no farther trouble till they are again united in the Reſurrection; and even then not to be in ſo ill a condition, as moſt men apprehend, which is a conſolation wicked men ſtand not in need of, and which no Chriſtian Caſuiſt, before Mr. *Hobbes*, ever preſum'd to adminiſter. And he may find, for the ſupport of his Atheiſts, who ſhould not be ſo churliſhly abandon'd by him, as many pregnant Arguments againſt Chriſtianity, and as rationally preſſed, and as many Texts of Scripture, as well of the New as the Old Teſtament, as appoſitely urg'd to maintain their Doctrine, as any which are made uſe

of

of by him for the propagation of his Opinions little leſs dangerous.

He is the firſt man (ſince *Virgil* accompanied *Æneas* thither) that hath taken pains ſo accurately to reſcue & vindicate Hell from the prejudice that men might have to it, from ſome expreſſions they find in Scripture relating to it; which he endeavors, by his Interpretations, to make not altogether ſo ſevere as they are generally underſtood to be. And leaſt any apprehenſion of the bottomleſs pit ſhould too much amuſe men, he do's aſſure them, from his Art in which he would be thought to excel, (*pag.* 243.) *That in the Globe of the Earth, which is not only finite, but alſo (compar'd to the height of the ſtars) of no conſiderable magnitude, a pit without a bottom, that is, a hole of infinite depth, is a thing the proportion of Earth to Heaven cannot bear*: which perfection of Science enabled him to diſcover, that if *Adam* had not eaten of the Apple, he had bin immortal; and had he never died (of which he makes not the leaſt queſtion) he ſhould not then continually have procreated his kind, (*pag.* 239.) *for if immortals ſhould have generated as man-kind doth now, the Earth in a ſmall time would not have bin able to afford them place to ſtand on.* Beſides, there being other places of Scripture which he cites, to imply, that the place of Hell is under water; ſo, beſides the comfort that is in the uncertainty, they need the leſs fear the bottomleſs pit, and he doth at laſt free them from the waters too, and the company that makes the waters the more unpleaſant. St. *John* thought he had terrified ſome Claſſes of ſinners to the purpoſe, when he declar'd, *That they ſhould have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone.* Apoc. 21. 8.

But

But for their comfort Mr. *Hobbes* assures them, (*pag.* 243.) that all that is but a Metaphorical expression, *and signifies not any certain kind or place of torment*; and gives them another Text to raise their spirits, *That death and hell were cast into the lake of fire*, (*pag.* 243.) that is, he saies, *abolish'd and destroied*; *as if after the day of Judgment there shall be no more dying, nor no more going into hell*; which must be very comfortable Doctrine to those whom he had before secur'd till that time, by the not existence, and nothingness of the Soul after its dissolution from the Body. So that he had don well, that there might some fear still have remain'd in them, to have told them, That it is the opinion of very Learned Men, that the day of Judgment it self is to last one thousand years. That the darkness which St. *Matthew* attributes to it, and which makes the most beautiful place the less pleasant, may not make them think Hell a worse place then in truth it is, he tells them, that tho the Translation hath rendered it *into utter darkness*, the Original will not bear it, (*pag.* 243.) *and do's not signifie how great, but where that darkness is to be, namely, without the habitation of Gods elect.*

In the careful Inquisitions which he makes into the torments of Hell, and into the Tormentors, he finds the Devil hath wrong don him, by not having his names of *Satan*, *Devil*, and *Abaddon*, translated into English, by which he conscientiously doubts, that men imagining them to be proper names of *Demons*, may be seduc'd to believe the Doctrine of Devils, which was the Religion of the Gentiles; whereas those hard words are not proper Names, but Appellations, which only set out the office and quality, as Satan only signifies the Enemy, Devil accuser,

Abad-

Abaddon the Destroyer. So that Heaven being to be after the Resurrection upon the Earth (which he saies he hath shew'd by Scripture that it is like to be) (*pag.* 244.) *Hell must likewise be upon the Earth too; and so by Satan, is meant any earthly Enemy of the Church*; and that the torments of Hell, which are expres'd in Scripture by weeping, and gnashing of teeth, by the worm of conscience, fire where the worm dies not, & the fire is not quenched, and by shame and everlasting contempt, do but Metaphorically signifie (*pag.* 244.) *a grief and discontent of mind, from the sight of the eternal felicity of others, and that they are to suffer such bodily pains and calamities as are incident to those, who not only live under evil and cruel Governors, but have also for Enemy, God Almighty.* But as to the duration of the bodily pains, tho the Scripture is clear for an universal Resurrection, (*pag.* 244.) yet there is no *promise to any reprobate of an eternal life*, without which he can never undergo an eternal punishment. Nor can a second death be ever applied to those that can die but once, he saies, (*pag.* 245.) tho *the fire prepared for the wicked, is an everlasting fire, and the fire shall be unquenchable, and the torments everlasting, it cannot therefore be inferr'd, that he who shall be cast into that fire, or be tormented with those torments, shall endure, and resist them so as to be eternally burn'd and tortur'd, and yet never be destroyed nor die.* And tho there be many places that affirm everlasting fire and torments (into which men may be cast successively one after another for ever) yet he finds none that affirms there shall be any eternal life therein, of any individual Person; but to the contrary, an everlasting death, which is the second death. And then he cites the Text in the *Reve-*

lations, whereby he saies, (*pag.* 245.) *it is evident, that there is to be a second death of every one that shall be condemn'd at the day of Judgment, after which he shall die no more.*

It cannot be denied, but that he hath taken extraordinary pains on the behalf of Hell, and it may be presum'd effectually, in making it believed, (*pag.* 243.) that *the fire thereof is neither everlasting nor unquencheable*; and that the terriblenes thereof hath proceeded chiefly from the hard words it hath bin describ'd by, *valley of Hinnon*, *Gehenna*, *Tophet*, which have puzled and perplex'd mens imaginations, for want of comprehension what those terms could imply; and which seem'd the more formidable in that they had not found, and so might be thought incapable of any translation; and therefore he hath don them the favor to inform them of the worst that they can signifie, and above all, for their comfort, hath brought the place and situation of it to be upon the Earth, which is so well known to them, that they need have no other apprehensions of it then they find reason for. And for the manifestation of that important truth, he doth not so much depend upon the Texts of Scripture which he hath cited to that purpose, as that, he saies, he hath already provedout of divers evident places of Scripture, in his thirty fifth Chapter (*pag.* 219.) *That the Kingdom of God is a civil Common-wealth, where God himself is Soveraign, by virtue first of the old, and since of the new Covenant*, which he saies doth sufficiently prove, that after the coming again of our Saviour in his Majesty and Glory, to reign actually and eternally, the Kingdom of God is to be on Earth; all which refers to that Institution by pact, which by his Covenant with

Abra-

Abraham, and the renewing thereof afterwards by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*, invested God by their chusing him to be their King, with a more peculiar Dominion then he had over any other Nation, because it was by their own consent and Covenant; which he saies, (*pag.* 217.) *in an addition to his ordinary title to all Nations*: and that this continued, till by their demanding a King, when *Saul* was given to them, they rejected God, that he should not reign over them. I must rely upon the Readers memory, or his reflexion, to judg whether what hath bin said in answer upon that Chapter, and before, doth not weigh down the imagination both of the original and subsequent Covenant and Contract. And for their rejection of God Almighty from being their King, upon the election of *Saul*, besides Gods own particular choice of his Successor, *Fill thine horn with oil, and go, I will send thee to* Jesse *the Bethlehemite, for I have provided me a King among his Sons*, 1 Sam. 16. 1. his grace, and favor, and concernment for that People, was equally eminent and notorious from that time, as it had bin from the time of *Abraham* to that of *Saul*; nor were their rebellions and murmurings greater after, then they had bin before: and then those two Imaginations of his having place only in his own brain, most of his Discourse in this his third part falls to the ground with them, and is of no signification.

When he hath made Hell much more easie, at least in a pleasanter Region, and the pains thereof less durable to all those who will chuse to go thither, he is as solleitous to undeceive men in the high estimate they have made of the joies of Heaven, and tells them, (*pag.* 245.) that to be saved, which is salva-

tion, *is to be ſecur'd either reſpectively againſt ſpecial evils, or abſolutely againſt all evil, comprehending want, ſickneſs, and death it ſelf.* And leaſt we ſhould think that this ſalvation contains ſome wonderful delight, which we cannot comprehend, becauſe we know not the ſcene upon which it ſhall be ſhew'd; he is fully of opinion, (*pag.* 246.) *that this ſalvation muſt be on earth: for by ſalvation is ſet forth unto us, a glorious reign of our King by conqueſt, not a ſafety by eſcape, and therefore there where we look for ſalvation, we muſt look alſo for triumph; and before triumph, for victory; and before victory for battel, which cannot well be ſuppos'd to be in Heaven.* However, tho the reaſon ſeems very good to him, he is ſo modeſt that he will not truſt to it, without very evident places of Scripture; and thereupon, how poſitive ſoever he is againſt the literal underſtanding ſuch places in Scripture, which ſeem to imply an aſcending into Heaven, and condemns them all to be Metaphorical Expreſſions; now, that he may humble our ſalvation down to the earth, he will have all thoſe places of the Prophets which he chuſes, to be underſtood literally; by which he ſaies it is evident, (*pag.* 246.) *that ſalvation ſhall be on earth, then when God ſhall reign (at the coming again of Chriſt) in Jeruſalem, and from Jeruſalem ſhall proceed the ſalvation of the Gentiles that ſhall be receiv'd into Gods Kingdom.* And then, with equal confidence, he mentions other Texts out of the New Teſtament, which he ſaies are clear (*pag.* 247.) *that ſalvation, and the kingdom of God (after the day of Judgment) muſt be upon Earth*: whereas he ſaies, *He cannot find any Text that can probably be drawn to prove any aſcenſion of the Saints into heaven*, which he ſeems to think

would

would be a presumtion, *and that since Gods own Throne is in Heaven, and the Earth is but his foot-stool, it would not seem suitable to the dignity of so great a King, that his Subjects should have any place as high as his Throne, or higher then his foot-stool.* And so making the last effort to lessen the value of our Redemtion, by making a Grammatical enquiry into the signification of the word, and low inferences thereupon, he concludes, (*pag.* 245.) *That the joies of life eternal, comprehended all in Scripture under the name of Salvation, or being saved, is to be secur'd either respectively, against special evils, or absolutely against all evils, comprehending want, sickness, and death it self*; that is, when we are once in Heaven we shall never want, nor be sick, nor die again, which is a very vile expression of the joies of life eternal.

I will not deprive him of that Testimony his rare modesty deserves, but acknowledg, (*pag.* 241.) *that he doth declare, because his Doctrine (tho proved out of places of Scripture, not few nor obscure) will appear to most a novelty, he did but propound it, maintaining nothing in this, or any other Paradox in Religion, but attending the end of that dispute of the Sword concerning the autority (not yet amongst his Country-men decided) by which all sorts of Doctrine are to be approv'd or rejected, and whose commands both in speech and writing (whatsoever be the opinions of private men) must by all men, that mean to be protected by the Laws, be obeied.* This was in the time when his fidelity and allegiance was by his own rule extinguished by choice, for he was not then in the Enemies Quarters, and no Sword drawn but that in *Cromwells* hand, and in theirs who were under

under his command; ſo that it was his ſingle approbation and determination, that he waited, for the promulgation of the Doctrine which he had ſo well prov'd out of Scripture, and to him he ſent this blank, for the diſpoſal of himſelf, body and ſoul, according to his good will and pleaſure. But I know not how to excuſe him ſince the Kings return, and the reſurrection of his Loialty (which is grown and improv'd to that height, that he will deny his Saviour upon his Command) for not retracting and renouncing all thoſe odious opinions, when he very well knows, that the Church of which the King is Soveraign, doth deteſt all thoſe his Doctrines, and not concur in his interpretation of any of his Texts in Scripture; and his not doing that which in Conſcience he is oblig'd to do, is a ſhrewd evidence that he conſiders not, nor will be ſubject to any other Soveraignty, then that of his own capricious brain, and haughty underſtanding.

I have ſo much kindneſs for Mr. *Hobbes*, that I heartily wiſh he would himſelf, or that ſome of his Diſciples would for him, inform the World what good end he did, or could propoſe to himſelf in writing this his eight and thirtieth Chapter, or whether he could imagine that Chriſtianity, or any Chriſtian knowledg could be advanced by it. It ſeems to me to be the greateſt charity he can expect, to be believed to be a man that believes nothing of the immortality of the Soul, of the eternal Life, Hell, Salvation, the World to come, and Redemtion, which all other Chriſtians do believe, and believe all to be evident out of Scripture. Since it is a leſs fault not to believe them, how deſtructive ſoever, then to imagine that he takes all that pains, and uſes all

that

that raillery upon the Scripture, to ſhew how liable the Word of God it ſelf is to be ill handled, and perverſly interpreted by a great and bold Wit. And truly, he hath not bin diſappointed in the propagation of this deſperate Art, which hath enabled his moſt devoted Proſelytes to apply Texts of Scripture to all their profane, impious, and unclean purpoſes; and which, probably before they leave this World, will give them a ſad preſage and proſpect of the next; the which can give them no reputation or credit, except with perſons profligate, and abandon'd to all kinds of vice and iniquity. Plain it is, that he hath not endeavor'd to advance the practice of any one Chriſtian Virtue, or to improve the exercise of any one Moral Duty, to the end that the lives of men may be more innocent, and thereby their hopes more reaſonable of eternal Life; as if he were not willing to perſwade men, by the ſtrength of his maſter Reaſon, to be better then they have a mind to be, or to diſ-countenance the practice of thoſe ſins which unavoidably muſt carry them to Hell, let the ſituation of it be where it will, (*pag.* 56.) as *Adultery, Sodomy, and any vice that may be taken for an effect of power, or a cauſe of pleaſure; all which vices amongſt men,* he ſaies, *are taken to be againſt Law, rather then againſt honor*: which ſince he hath diſcover'd, he might for thoſe wretches ſake, very naturally have interpoſed ſome powerful Animadverſions in this Chapter of Eternal Life, Hell, and Salvation.

The

The Survey of Chapter 39.

I Have charity enough to hope, that Mr. *Hobbes* may have no worſe deſign in this Thirty ninth Chapter, then can be made manifeſt out of his words, which being plain, and yielding naturally a good interpretation, I will not endeavour to pervert them to a bad, but wiſh he had farther enlarged upon the Subject, to ſhew with what abſurdity the word Church is applied to deſtroy Religion, as if Chriſt had inſtituted one, and but one Church that ſhould have Autority to controul all the Chriſtians in the world. Which is a fancy (how ſucceſsful ſoever) ſo extravagant and ſenſeleſs, ſo far from countenance from Scripture, or Antiquity, ſo in it ſelf impoſſible, that nothing is more wonderful, then that ſo unreaſonable a pretence ſhould gain ſo much credit, as to impoſe upon ſo great a part of the world ſo long: and which, tho it was not brought in by, could never have bin brought in or grown but under that barbarous Tyranny and inundation, which by the incurſion of the *Gothes*, and *Vandalls*, and *Hunns*, and *Lombards*, who ſucceſſively broke in from the *North*, cover'd ſo great a part of Chriſtendom for ſo many hundren years. And it cannot be denied, but that tho Spiritual, and temporal are proper diſtinctions in the Government, when the Soveraign, who is equal Soveraign over both, will apply them to ſeveral functions in the Government, & to that exerciſe of different parts, yet indeed they have

have bin made uſe of in the World, (*pag.* 248.) *to make men ſee double, and to miſtake their lawful Soveraign.* And they are not ſharp-ſighted enough, who think their Government ſecurely eſtabliſhed under that diſtinction, whilſt any Subject profeſſes to owe a Spiritual, or any other kind of Subjection or Obedience to any Foreign Power and Juriſdiction. I would have bin very glad, he would have enlarged upon both theſe Subjects, ſo proper for his excellent way of reaſoning; and I cannot avoid ſaying, that it is great pitty that the moſt faultleſs Chapter in the Book, for ought is evident, ſhould be the ſhorteſt.

The Survey of Chapter 40.

WE are not bound to believe, and Mr. *Hobbes* would find it a hard task to prove, that all Chriſtian Princes have the ſame power and autority over their Subjects, that *Abraham* had over his Family, which we do not find to exceed the number of three hundred and eighteen men; and that all Subjects are bound to obey the dictates of their Soveraigns with the ſame reſignation and ſubmiſſion as the Children of *Iſrael* were oblig'd to ſubmit to the commands of *Moſes*: however, it ſeems to have no Logical conſequence in it, that becauſe God ſpake only to *Abraham*, and not to his Family, therefore his Family was to receive Gods commands only from him. Yet Mr. *Hobbes* might have remembred that God did appear likewiſe to *Hagar*, one of *Abrahams* Family, even after he had expos'd her to the unjuſt ſeverity of his Wife; and communicated his pleaſure to her, and inform'd her of many particulars which he imparted not to *Abraham*; however, I ſay, the inſtance of *Abraham* is no Argument, that all Subjects, who have no ſupernatural Revelation to the contrary, ought to obey the orders of their own Soveraigns in the external acts and profeſſion of Religion, except it were as evident that God hath ſpoken to thoſe Soveraigns, as it is confeſſed that he ſpake to *Abraham*. And there was in thoſe daies no other way for men to know the immediate pleaſure of God,

God, what they were, or were not to do, but by his Communication to ſome perſon who had credit to be believed. Whereas from the time that God hath manifeſted his pleaſure to all men in his Scripture, what will pleaſe and diſpleaſe him, and intruſted Princes to advance his Service, and provide for his Worſhip according to the rules which he hath likewiſe preſcrib'd to them, he hath diſcontinued that Immediate Communication. Nor doth any Prince pretend to that converſation with God, as *Abraham* and *Moſes* had, who did not interpret, but relate, and report what God would, or would not have don from himſelf. And the Salvo which he provides for the Implicite Faith which he preſcribes by a mental reſervation, is ſo deſtructive to common honeſty, that it is not only unworthy of a Chriſtian, but of a moral man, who deſires to live with any credit amongſt men; which we ſhall be obliged to enlarge upon in another place, where he more confidently calls for it, and therefore ſhall decline it here. And God be thanked, no Chriſtian Prince doth himſelf believe, or wiſhes that his Subjects ſhould believe, that he is in *Abrahams* place, to be the ſole Interpreter of what God hath ſpoken.

Mr. *Hobbes* is ſo much addicted to the ſole obligation of Contracts and Covenants, that he will hardly allow God himſelf to have a title to our obedience, but by virtue of ſome Contract on his part, and Covenant on ours; which that he may the better make good, he aſſumes a Juriſdiction to himſelf to give what ſignification and interpretation he pleaſes to words, whether they have bin generally underſtood to ſignifie ſo, or no; without which he would not have determin'd, that (*pag.* 250.) *Moſes had no auto-*

authority to command the children of Israel, *nor they any obligation to obey him, until in the terror of the thundring and lightning, and the noise of the Trumpet, and the smoaking of the mountain,* they said unto *Moses*, Exod. 20. 28. *Speak thou with us, and we will hear, but let not God speak with us least we die*; by which he saies, (*pag.* 251.) *they obliged themselves to obey whatsoever he should deliver unto them for the commandment of God*: whereas the most that can be drawn from that engagement is, that they would hear, and receive what he should say. Notwithstanding which, it doth not appear that they paid more obedience to *Moses*, after this profession of theirs, then they had don before; nor can it be imagin'd, that the promise to *Moses* was more binding, then all former obligations to God. And surely he who assumes this licence of Interpreting, is much to blame if he doth not make many places in Scripture to signifie what conduces to his purpose, and he may from *Moses* having leave to go up into the Mount, declare, not only that the Scriptures are the Mount, and therefore that the Soveraign only may interpret them, but that they may not be look'd into: which would increase the Prerogative, and is as near the signification and intention of the Text, as what he gives to it. But then how Mr. *Hobbes* will excuse himself for violating his own Doctrine, which concludes, that (*pag.* 252.) *no man ought in the interpretation of Scripture, to proceed farther then the bounds which are set by his Soveraign*, I cannot imagine, except he hath refuge to *Cromwell*, whom he did then acknowledg to be his Soveraign. And indeed it was of no small advantage to him, that all Persons under him (by what Oaths or Obligations soever

soever they were bound to administer Justice to the people, according to the known Rules of Law and equity) should understand themselves to be in the same capacity that the Seventy were to *Moses*, to whom God took of the Spirit that was upon *Moses*, Num. 11. 25. and gave it to them; the sense of which place, he saies, is no other, (pag. 252.) (*as he hath formerly declar'd, that spirit signifies mind,*) *then that God endued them with a mind conformable, and subordinate to that of* Moses, *that they might prophesy, & speak to the people in Gods name, in such manner, as to set forward such doctrine as was agreeable to* Moses's *doctrine.* And in truth so absolute an autority in all spiritual matters, as high as it is, is not more then is absolutely necessary to support his other power in the temporal.

He administers occasion enough in this Chapter to induce me to repete what hath already bin said upon the Covenant made by *Abraham*, which is a principal corner stone upon which he still persists to erect his building, which I shall forbear to do, persuming the Reader will not forget it; only I must observe the activity and restlesnes of Mr. *Hobbes* his fancy, and that, as the first mention of the Covenant and Contract as to the end for which he formed it, was a pure dream of his own, so he adds to it, and makes it larger, as new matter occurs to him that requires such a supply. As in the beginning of this Chapter, that he might make the Soveraignty of *Abraham* to appear the more unquestionable, he saies, that (pag. 249.) *by his Covenant he obliged himself, and his seed after him, to acknowledg, and obey the Commands of God, not only such as he could take notice of (the moral Laws) by the Laws*

of

of Nature, but alſo ſuch as God ſhould in ſpecial manner deliver to him by dreams, and viſions, of which before he makes no mention, tho he mention'd more then he had autority for; for he ſaies, (pag. 249.) *that no contract could add to, or ſtrengthen the obligation, by which both they, and all men elſe were bound naturally to obey God Almighty, and therefore the Covenant that* Abraham *made with God, was to take for the commandment of God, that which in the name of God was commanded him in a dream, or viſion, and to deliver it to his Family, and cauſe them to obſerve the ſame.* Yet notwithſtanding this great addition, tho *Abraham* and all the Soveraigns who ſucceeded him, were qualified to govern, and preſcribe to their Subjects what Religion they ſhould be of, and to tell them what is the word of God, and to puniſh all thoſe who ſhould countenance any doctrine which he ſhould forbid, from which he concludes that (pag. 250) *as none but* Abraham *in his family, ſo none but the Soveraign in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, can take notice what is, or what is not the word of God*; Yet, I ſay, neither that, nor the *renewing the ſame Covenant with* Iſaac, *and afterwards with* Jacob, he ſaies now, *did make that people the peculiar People of God*, but dates that Priviledge, which before he dated from the Covenant with *Abraham*, to begin only from the renewing it by *Moſes* at the mount *Sinai*; by which he corrects his former fancy by a new one as extravagant, upon the peoples contract in thoſe words, which he had mention'd before without that obſervation and gloſs that he makes upon it, nor did God at that time promiſe more to them by *Moſes*, then he had before as expreſly promis'd to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*.)

This

This ſhall ſuffice to what he hath ſo often urg'd, or ſhall hereafter infer from the Covenant with *Abraham*, and by *Moſes*, and of the peculiar dominion over that People by vertue of that Contract. Nor will I hereafter enlarge any more upon their pretended rejection of God, when they deſir'd a King, which he now confirms by a new piece of Hiſtory, or a new Commentary upon the Text by his Soveraign power of interpreting; for he ſaies (pag. 254.) *that when they ſaid to* Samuel, *make us a King to judg us like all the Nations, they ſignified, that they would no more be govern'd by the commands that ſhould be laid upon them by the Prieſt in the name of God, and conſequently in depoſing the High Prieſt of Egial autority, they depoſed that peculiar Government of God.* (pag. 255.) And yet he confeſſes in the very next page, that *when they had demanded a King after the manner of the Nations, they had no deſign to depart from the worſhip of God their King, but deſpairing of the juſtice of the Sons of* Samuel, *they would have a King to Judg them in civil actions, but not that they would allow their King to change the Religion which was recommended to them by* Moſes. By which he hath again cancell'd and demoliſh't all that power and juriſdiction, which he would derive to all Soveraigns, from that ſubmiſſion and contract, which he ſaies *they made at Mount* Sinai: for he confeſſes *that they had no intention, that the King ſhould have autority to alter their Religion*, and then it paſſed not by that contract. And thus when his unruly invention ſuggeſts to him an addition to the Text, or an unwarrantable interpretation of it, it alwaies involves him in new perplexities, and leaves him as far from attaining his end, as when he began. It

is

is upon his uſual preſumtion, that from the 17. Chapter of *Numbers*, he concludes, that after *Moſes* his death, the ſupreme power of making war and peace, and the Supreme power of judicature belonged alſo to the High Prieſt; and thus *Joſhuah* was only General of the Army: whereas no more was ſaid in that place to *Eleazar*, then had bin before ſaid to *Aaron* his Father, to perform the Prieſtly Office; nor doth it ever appear that *Eleazar* offered to aſſume the Soveraignty in either of the caſes, but was as much under *Joſhuah*, as *Aaron* had ever bin under *Moſes*. God appear'd unto *Joſhuah* upon the deceaſe of *Moſes*, and deputed him to exerciſe the ſame charge that *Moſes* had don. *As I was with* Moſes, *ſo will I be with thee. This Book of the Law ſhall not depart out of thy mouth, that thou maieſt obſerve to do all that is written therein. Then* Joſhuah *commanded the Officers of the People.* Josh. 1, 2. 5, 8, 10. The people made another covenant with *Joſhuah*. *All that thou commandeſt us we will do; and whither ſoever thou ſendeſt us, we will go. As we hearkned unto* Moſes *in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee. Whoſoever doth rebel againſt thy Commandment, and will not hearken to thy words in all that thou commandeſt him, ſhall be put to death.* ver. 16, 17, 18. *And the Lord ſaid unto* Joshuah, *this day will I magnify thee in the ſight of all* Iſrael; *as I was with* Moſes, *ſo will I be with thee. And thou ſhalt command the Prieſts &c.* Josh. 3. 7, 8. All the orders and commands to the Prieſts were given by *Joſhuah*. Joshua *built an Altar to the Lord God of* Iſrael *in Mount* Ebal. *He wrote upon the ſtones a copy of the Law. He read all the Law, the curſings, and the bleſſings, &c.* Josh. 8. 30, 32, 34. *Joſhuah* divided the Land, and when any

doubt-

doubtful cause did arise, they repair'd to him for judgment. And when the two Tribes, and the half, returned to the other side of *Jordan*, where *Moses* had assign'd their portions, it was *Joshuah* who blessed them, and sent them away. There is no mention of any Soveraignty of *Eleazar*. What the jurisdiction of the High-Priest was, and whether the Office was limited, or any way suspended during the time of the Judges, is not otherwise pertinent to this discourse, then as it contradicts Mr. *Hobbes*, in which where it is not necessary I take no delight, and therefore shall not enlarge upon those particulars.

The Survey of Chapter 41.

MR. *Hobbes* hath committed so many errors in the institution and view which he hath made of all Offices hitherto, that there was reason to believe, he would have the same presumption, if he came to handle the Office of our Saviour himself, and I think he hath made it good, when he allows no other autority or power to our Saviour, even when he *comes in the glory of his Father, with his Angels, to reward every man according to his works*, Matth. 16. 27. *then* (*pag.* 260.) *as Vice-gerent of God his Father, in the same manner that Moses was in the wilderness, and as the High Priests were before the reign of Saul, and as the Kings were after it:* which is degrading him below the model of *Socinus*, and in no degree equal to the description of his Power in Scripture; yet large enough, if the end of his coming was no other then he assigns, and the Office he is to manage, no greater then he seems to describe, (*p.* 264.) the giving *immortality in the Kingdom of the Son of man, which is to be exercis'd by our Saviour upon earth, in his human nature*; which seems to be much inferior to that *inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, that fadeth not away*, which St. *Peter* assures us is *reserved in Heaven* for us, 1 *Pet.* 1. 4. And how his immortality upon Earth will be secur'd, if the Earth be to be destroied by Fire, as many Learned Men do believe is clearly foretold in Scripture, is worthy of his

his care to enquire and consider. But these extravagancies, and the greater in the next Chapter, in his description and definition of the Trinity, I shall leave to Divines to refute, and to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to convince him by information, or to reform him by chastisements; without making any observation, that how little power or jurisdiction soever he allows to other Officers and Ministers, he reserves to himself authority to determine the highest Points. And whereas our Saviour himself professes, that he hath laid down his life, & bin sacrific'd for the sins of the whole world, he takes upon him to contract the number who are to receive any benefit thereby, only to that of the elect. And he is less to be understood, when he positively declares, *(pag. 263.) the end of Christs coming to be, that he might restore unto God by a new Covenant, the Kingdom which had bin cut off by the rebellion of the Israelites in the election of Saul*; which dream still possesses him to that degree, that he seems to think the conversion of the *Gentiles* to be merely accidental, the restoring that peculiar Kingdom to his Father by a new Covenant, being the great end of his coming; and in case that Nation should generally refuse him, then to call to his obedience such as should believe in him of the *Gentiles*; whereas his coming was equally for the one as for the other, and in truth, was promis'd to the other, before the *Jews* became the chosen People of God, if the Promise made to *Adam* after his fall had any prospect towards our Saviour, of which few men make doubt.

I cannot but observe some ingenuity (if it had bin perfect ingenuity, it would have amounted to a clear retractation) in his declaring so freely, and by

ſo many inſtances, that as our Saviour himſelf declar'd, *That his Kingdom is not of this World*; ſo that he never exercis'd any Soveraign Juriſdiction in it, contrary to what he more magiſterially publiſh'd in his twentieth Chapter; when his buſineſs being to prove the abſolute and illimited power of Kings over their Subjects, and all that they have, he quotes ſeveral Texts out of the Old and New Teſtament, in which the ſimple obedience of Subjects to their Soveraign is enjoin'd: and then concludes with an inſtance of our Saviours judgment in the point, (*pag.* 108.) *That the Kings word is ſufficient to take away any thing from any Subject when there is need, and that the King is judg of that need*: for ſaying, that *our Saviour himſelf, as King of the Jews, commanded his Diſciples to take the aſs, and aſſes colt, to carry him into Jeruſalem, ſaying, Go into the village, &c.* Matth. 21. 2, 3. he adds, as if they had bin the words of our Saviour, *They will not ask, whether his neceſſity be a ſufficient title, nor whether he be judg of that neceſſity, but acquieſce in the will of the Lord.* If Mr. *Hobbes* had bin a conſciencious vindicator of Truth, and intended by his reaſon and autority only to have mended the underſtanding of men, when he had reformed his own in a matter of great importance, and of which he had made ſo ill uſe, he would have given ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe he may have ſeduc'd: and ſince he now diſcovers, (*pag.* 262, 263.) that *the Kingdom of Chriſt is not to begin till the general reſurrection; and that Chriſt, whilſt he was on earth, had no Kingdom in this World*, this Forty firſt Chapter ought in conſcience to have bin a retractation of what he had ſaid in the twenty precedent; and therefore he may forgive thoſe, who

too

too reasonably suspect, that his design is rather to perplex and disturb, and seduce men, then to enlighten and inform them; and that he assigns the errors in every Chapter to do as much mischief as they can, and retracts none of them, least the confessing himself to be once deceiv'd, may lessen his power to deceive any more.

H

The

The Survey of Chapter 42.

HAving then left his Diſcourſe of the Trinity, to be cenſur'd by thoſe who are more competent conſiderers of thoſe high Myſteries with the matter of his former Chapter, and of which it had more properly bin a part; (for after the having degraded our Saviour to thoſe low and inſignificant Offices, the bare-fac'd denying the Trinity, might naturally have follow'd, which he makes to be no Myſtery at all, and to contain as many Perſons as any Body will aſſign to it, rather then thoſe, which an Article of the Chriſtian Faith makes neceſſary to be believ'd, and which he denies with more affectation then was don by *Arius*, or *Macedonius*, or any of thoſe Hereſies which ſucceeded, and were the ſpawn of their poiſon. And no doubt, he hath gratified the Pope abundantly, whom he hath otherwiſe endeavored to provoke, in procuring ſuch a Book, that denies a vital part of Chriſtianity, to be printed and diſperſed in a Proteſtant Kingdom, which it could not have bin, if the Governors and Over-ſeers of the Church had ever peruſed or taken notice of it; the defect whereof, hath permitted it to receive too much countenance in Popiſh Countries likewiſe;) We proceed to take a view of his Eccleſiaſtical Power, in which he declares his judgment and opinion, not only of Church Juriſdiction, but upon the matter of all things which concern Religion in the Church; that is, the Profeſſion of the Chri-

Christian Faith. I do first observe, that he confesses, (*pag.* 267.) *that the Ecclesiastical power was left by our Saviour in the hands of the Apostles*, and that it remained in them, and in those who were ordained by them, those hundred of years before there were any Christian Soveraigns: and I will confess with him, that our Saviour left no external, ordinary, coercive power to them, or with them, but only a power to proclaim the Kingdom of Christ, and to perswade men to submit themselves thereunto, and by Precepts and good Counsel, and the terrors of the Lord, to teach them that have submitted, what they are to do that they may be received into the Kingdom of God, and by the censures of the Church chastise and discipline offenders: all which cannot be don, but by publishing and explaining the Scriptures. And therefore except Mr. *Hobbes* will take from them that which himself acknowledges that Christ gave and left to them, or prove that Christ took it from them, and assigned it to other persons, they must still have a power to publish the Scripture, and to interpret it, and are obliged to declare and teach the Doctrine of Christ before the Doctrine of the King, which office he hath thought fit only to commit to them, and trust them with, not remembring how much more he had assigned to them in the beginning of his last Chapter, where he sates, (*pag.* 261.) that our Saviour, when he was upon the earth, *partly wrought our conversion, and partly worketh now by his Ministers, and will continue to work till his coming again.* And it is very ill Logic to say, that because they cannot rightly interpret and pervert Scripture, nor preach Rebellion against their natural Soveraign, since Christ hath commanded subjection and obedience

dience to them, they have therefore no autority to preach at all, or interpret the Scripture, but must publish whatsoever the King bids them, in the Name, and as the Commands of God: yet even that, and all he hath or can say, may be true, if the cases of Conscience which he hath taken upon him to determine, have any dependance upon, or affinity with the Christian Faith, or common honesty.

What if the office of Christs Ministers in this World, is to make men believe and have Faith in Christ, and that they have no power by that title to punish men for not believing, or for contradicting what they say: doth that defect of power of compulsion, abolish that power which he hath given them of instructing and preaching, and using the Keys? As Christ hath trusted them to do, and qualified them with peculiar circumstances to perform those Offices, so he hath trusted Soveraign Princes to assist them, whil'st they perform their office with integrity, or to punish them if they do not, with their power of compulsion, that their labors may be effectual. And Princes are no less obliged to give them that assistance, then they are to perform the office of the Apostles and Disciples, nor can any Prince think his Soveraignty impair'd, by being obliged to take care that the Laws and Precepts of God his Soveraign be punctually submitted to, and that they, to whom in special manner the publication thereof is committed, be not only protected, but obeied and reverenc'd, whil'st they do their duty, or surmise that the word of God stands in need of, or can receive any dignity or autority, by any thing he can add to it by his Soveraign power. God hath left, and requir'd them to be Nursing Fathers to his

Church,

Church, and from the time of their being Christians, hath communicated his Scripture to them, which they have receiv'd, and which they are equally bound to obey as their meaneſt Subject; and if they are not good and faithful Nurſes, the miſcarriage of the Children ſhall be imputed to them. There is no cauſe of jealouſie from the Soveraign towards his Subjects, which Mr. *Hobbes* out of his conſtant good will deſires to kindle: for there is neither Biſhop nor Prieſt who pretends to any Power or Juriſdiction, inconſiſtent with the Kings Supremacy, in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Temporal matters. No man can be made a Biſhop, but by his appointment and grant. No man can be ordained a Prieſt, but by him whom he hath nominated to be a Biſhop. And if either Biſhop or Prieſt miſ-behave themſelves to that degree, they ſhall by his autority be degraded, and depriv'd, and ſuffer as Lay-men are to do, he being no leſs Soveraign over the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons & Laws, then over the Temporal; and whoever ſo become liable, are to blame, & for ought I know, have to anſwer for ſomthing beſides the departing from their dignity. In a word, Prelates aſſume no title of Honor, nor pretend to any Juriſdiction that they have not receiv'd from him, and therefore deſerve to be countenanc'd and ſupported by him, amongſt his beſt and moſt uſeful Subjects.

He is not concern'd, if the King forbids him to believe in Chriſt: it is a command of no effect, becauſe belief and underſtanding never follow mens commands; but if the King commands him to ſay, that he believes not in Chriſt, he is very ready to obey him. (*pag.* 271.) *Profeſſion with the tongue, is but an external thing, wherein a Chriſtian holding firm-*

ly in his heart the Faith of Christ, hath the same liberty which the Prophet Elisha *allowed to* Naaman *the* Syrian. He would be very much disappointed in the support of his monstrous Impiety, if that Text ought to be rendred out of the Original, as Dr. *Lightfoot*, a man eminently learned in the Hebrew, positively saies it ought to be: *For this thing the Lord pardon thy servant, for that when my master hath gon into the house of* Rimmon *to worship there, and he hath leaned upon my hand, that I also have bowed my self in the house of* Rimmon; *for my worshipping in the house of* Rimmon, *the Lord pardon thy servant for this thing.* 2 Kings 5. 18. So that he craved pardon for Idolatry past, and not begged leave to be Idolatrous for the time to come. But admitting the Text to be according to the common Translation, it can do Mr. *Hobbes* no good, except he procures the same leave from another who hath as much autority as *Elisha* had. Who doth not know, that none of those Examples which were either enjoin'd or permitted to be don by the Divine Autority, for some extraordinary end of Providence, are for our imitation, when they are opposite to the truth, and justice, and integrity of Gods Precepts? He may as well justifie the breach of Faith, and down-right Theft and Robbery in his Neighbors, by the example of the *Israelites* borrowing the Jewels, and other Goods of the *Egyptians*, or the assassination of an Enemy, by the example of *Ehuds* stabbing of *Eglon*, and many other unwarrantable actions, by the example of good men directed by the Spirit of God in the Scripture, as maintain his own impiety, by the example or permission, if there were any, of *Naaman*. But if Mr. *Hobbes* be gratified by not urging the impiety,

nor

nor the denunciation which St. *John* pronounced upon him, *He is Anti-christ, that denieth the Father and the Son*, 1 John 2. 22. How will he juſtifie the prevarication and falſeneſs, in ſaying, *he doth not believe that, which in his heart he doth believe*? Ye ſhall not deal falſly, neither lie one to another, was a part of the *Levitical* Law, and by Mr. *Hobbes* rules, a part of the Law of Nature, and ſo muſt not be violated, nor can be controul'd by God himſelf. He knows very well who is the Father of lies, tho it may be he doth not enough conſider what portion is allotted for his children. And if they who *ſaid they were Jews, and were not*, but did lie, were pronounc'd by St. *John* to be of *the Synagogue of Satan*, Rev. 3. 9. There is very great danger, that he who is a Chriſtian in his heart, & upon any Kings commands ſhall profeſs with his Tongue that he doth not believe in Chriſt, will not be admitted by our Saviour to be of his Church. In vain hath the whole current of Scripture endeavor'd to raiſe ſuch an awful reverence for truth, that it hath ſcarce pronounced more ſevere Judgments againſt any Species of ſins, then againſt lying. *He that telleth lies, ſhall not ſtay in my ſight*, ſaies the Spirit of God by the Pſalmiſt, *Pſal.* 101. 7. *He that ſpeaketh lies ſhall periſh*, ſaies the ſame Spirit in the Proverbs, *Prov.* 19. 9. Let him believe what he will, he ſhall periſh for ſpeaking lies. And if he will believe St. *Paul*, he will not find the heart to be the ſeat that comprehends all Chriſtian Religion, but that the tongue hath a very neceſſary part aſſign'd to it, to perform: *If thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thy heart that God hath raiſed him from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved*, Rom. 10. 9. Salvation would be gotten at too cheap a rate, if believing would ſerve the turn, and men might

ſpeak, and do what they find moſt convenient. Words are actions in his own judgment, and to be puniſh'd with the ſame ſeverity. Our Saviour had provided very ill for the propagation of his Faith, if he had left a latitude for men to deny him in their words, ſo they confeſſed him in their hearts. How many Converts would that ſecret, and reſerv'd belief and confeſſion have produc'd? Confeſſion with thy mouth, as it is the more generous, ſo it is the more avowed and declar'd way of doing God ſervice. He cannot confeſs him with his mouth, that doth not believe him in his heart; and he doth believe him in his heart to no purpoſe, that will not confeſs him with his mouth. A man cannot be a true Chriſtian without both. There may be ſome men who may be poſſeſſed with as much fear as Mr. *Hobbes*, and as good Courtiers as he, in ſubmitting to the commands of their Soveraign, of what kind ſoever; but I have not heard that any man doth ſo frankly own it as he doth, and the expedient that he hath found might have ſaved many hundred thouſand lives of the Chriſtians in the primitive perſecution, when the greateſt part of them were not required with their mouth to deny Jeſus Chriſt, but to acknowledg *Jupiter*, or *Venus*, or *Apollo* (according to the Religion of the Climate) to be Gods, and to worſhip them, which after they were Chriſtians they could not do: ſo that their Martyrdom was, that they choſe to loſe their lives with the moſt terrible circumſtances of Torment, rather then they would lie, and ſay, that they believ'd them to be Gods, when they knew they were not ſo: and the Church hath never doubted of their being Martyrs, very precious in the eies of God. But we ſhall have occaſion

caſion to reſume this argument of Martyrs again very ſhortly.

But it is not reaſonable to believe or expect that thoſe, or any other Texts of Scripture, can make any impreſſion upon Mr. *Hobbes*, when he is able to ſave himſelf harmleſs from that determination and declaration of our Saviour, *Who ſo denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father which is in Heaven*, by ſaying roundly, that whatſoever a Subject is compell'd to do in obedience to his Soveraign, and doth it not in order to his own mind, that action is not his but his Soveraigns, nor is it he that in this caſe denieth Chriſt before men, but his Governor: ſo that he is well content to ſhift of his own damnation to his Soveraign. But that this diſtinction will not ſerve his turn, is evident to all, but the Caſuiſts of his own faith, and twill concern him to find a better way to defend himſelf for committing Adultery, Theft, Murder, or any other wickedneſs God hath forbidden, if his Soveraign commands him, then he hath taught any other men who believe his doctrine, and who deſerve more ſatisfaction from him, for depending upon his reaſon. I know no difficulty in reſolving his caſe of conſcience concerning his Mahometan in a Chriſtian Common-wealth, nor can doubt, but that he which is a true Mahometan, and believes that Mahomet will not permit him to be preſent at the divine Service in a Chriſtian Church, which I do not think the Mahometans reſtrain'd from out of their own Country, no more then the Jews, who make no ſcruple to be preſent at Common Praier, or Maſs, if it be attended with any convenience, looking upon themſelves only as being preſent in the company.

pany, not at the devotion: Yet I ſay, if he believes it, he doth well not to obey his Soveraigns commands, and is much the honeſter man in avoiding the doing againſt conſcience, however erroneous it may be. Nor will any part of that tragical inference follow, that then any private man may diſobey their Princes in maintenance of any Religion true, or falſe, there being other trialls for the puniſhment of thoſe, then the bare word, and command of the Prince.

There are two concluſions which reaſonably reſult from Mr. *Hobbes* his *Axiome*, and which may prove beneficial to him; the firſt is, that we may believe that he doth not himſelf believe one word in his Book that we find fault with: for writing is at leaſt as external a thing as ſpeaking, and therefore keeping his heart right, he might have the ſame liberty the Prophet gave to *Naaman*, and write what his Soveraign *Cromwell* commanded him, or what he diſcern'd would be ſo acceptable to him, that it would procure him his protection, which ought to have the ſame force with him as his command. The other is, that when ever he ſhall be commanded by the King, or required by any Court of Law, which is the voice of the King, to retract, and recant whatever is condemned in this Book, he will cheerfully, and with a better conſcience renounce them all, and write an other Book more reaſonably in the confutation of his errors in this. But then he is upon an other diſadvantage, which is very grievous to an honeſt man, that when he makes that recantation, no man will believe that it is the thoughts of his heart, but only his profeſſion with the tongue, which being but an external thing, he doth ſignify his

his obedience to that autority to which he is Subject, without any remorse for the wickedness of his former writing. The truth is, this licence which he avows, how odious and impious soever, hath in it self likewise so much of levity and extreme weakness, that a man may depart a little from his gravity in answering it, and wonder why he did not make use of a Text of *Euripides* englisht in *Hudibras*, who is much a graver writer, and far better Casuist, as an autority to support his doctrine,

Oaths are but words, and words but wind,
Too feeble instruments to bind. &c.

He knows well that in the custom of speaking, worse cannot be said of any man, then that he is ready to say any thing he is bid, and the natural judgment upon him, is, that no man believes any thing he saies.

Error is naturally pregnant, and the more desperate it is, the more fruitful. Mr. *Hobbes* well foresaw that the latitude he assum'd to himself, could not consist with the courage of the blessed Martyrs of the Christian Faith, who had laid down their lives rather then they would with their tongue (which would have saved their lives) deny their Saviour, or say they did not believe in him, upon the command of what Emperour or Soveraign soever. Nor could it reasonably be expected, that a man who is so declared an Enemy to Martyrdom, should entertain a great reverence or esteem for the persons of Martyrs; and therefore it cannot be wondred at, that he very resolutly charges that glorious company (whose memory every Christian Church celebrates

brates with extraordinary devotion) with want of Wit and understanding, and with loss of their labour, and boldly determines by his Prerogative of interpreting words according to his definitions and Etymologies, whatever the constant, and general acceptation hath bin, that because Martyr signifies a witness, (*pag.* 272.) *and a witness must have seen what he testifies, and the fundamental Article of Christian Religion being that Jesus was the Christ, therefore that none can properly be called Martyrs of Christ, but those that convers'd with him, and saw him before and after his Resurrection, and that whosoever did not so, can witness no more then what others said, and are therefore but witnesses of other mens testimony, and are but second Martyrs, or Martyrs of Christs witnesses.* And yet for fear that they might yet have too much honour, he doth as imperiously declare, that (pag. 273.) *none can be a Martyr of the first, or second degree, who have not a warrant to preach Christ come in the flesh, and who are not sent to the conversion of Infidels; for that no man is a witness to him that already believes, and therefore needs no witness, but to them that deny, or doubt, or have not heard it.* And even to those, that there is one only Article, which to die for, meriteth so honourable a name, and that Article is, that (pag. 272.) *Jesus is the Christ. But a man maintaining every doctrine, which he himself draws out of the History of our Saviours life, or out of the Acts or Epistles of the Apostles, is very far from being a Martyr of Christ, or a Martyr of his Martyrs*: whereas whoever hath laid down his life for the testimony of any Christian verity, or rather then he would deny any such, hath allwaies bin inserted in the num-

number of the Martyrs, by the judgment of the universal Church.

If Mr. *Hobbes* had bin conversant in the determination of matters upon the testimony of witnesses, he would have known, that in cases of the greatest importance, it is not alwaies necessary that the witness must have bin present, and have seen what he testifieth, or else his testimony is not good. They are very competent witnesses who declare what they have heard from others; the question being only, whether what they say be true; which often appears to be more unquestionable by the testimony of what others saw, and declar'd, then what they saw or heard themselves: and the truth of all matters of fact would be quickly lost, or dangerously suspected, if the death of half a dozen persons, who were present, could render the truth without evidence. So that he could not in this assertion, have any purpose to discountenance any other sort of witnesses but only Martyrs. And I must complain of his extreme undervaluing his Readers, in endeavouring to perswade them, from St. *Peters* proposing, or enjoining after the death of *Judas*, that the rest of the Apostles should ordain one to be a Martyr, (a witness with them of Christs Resurrection) of those men who had accompanied with them all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them, beginning from the baptism of *John*, &c. (which he saies, makes it manifest, (pag. 272.) *that he which is to be a witness of the truth of the Resurrection of Christ, must be some Disciple that conversed with him, and saw him before, and after his Resurrection, and consequently, must be one of his original Disciples.*) That none else could be a Martyr he would

have too juſt reaſon to upbraid the breeding in the Univerſities, if there be any novice in Logic there, who can be impoſed upon by ſuch Argumentations. They who are deluded by him, have not paſſed through that courſe education. It is true, that the method in which our Saviour choſe to work the converſion of men, was by matters of fact, which he ſubmitted to the examination of the ſenſes, and which was don in the ſight of the Sun, that there might be no want of witneſſes. His greateſt miracles were don in the greateſt company, whom he had made Judges as well as witneſſes of what they ſaw. When he changed the Water into Wine, it was at a Wedding, which in that time, and in that Country, was alwaies celebrated in the preſence of a great multitude, and with notable feſtivity. Theſe people ſaw the Water powred out, and in the drinking found it to be excellent Wine, better then the Wine that was firſt brought into the room: and the evidence of ſo many witneſſes, could not but make the miracle believed, which he expected not ſhould be believed upon a leſs teſtimony. When he rais'd the dead to life, it was alwaies in the preſence of thoſe who had ſeen them living, and dead: the ſame eies which ſaw them die, and ſometimes buried, ſaw them likewiſe riſe from the dead, and eat, and drink, and perform all the functions of life as other men. The whole people ſaw his Paſſion, and were witneſſes of all the circumſtances of it: and all his Diſciples and many other were witneſſes of, and converſed with him after, his Reſurrection. And to ſupply all the poſſible defects, after his Aſcenſion (which was in the view likewiſe of many witneſſes) he ſent the Holy Ghoſt upon them

who

who taught, and them who believed, and which was a miracle little inferiour to the reſt, he gave many of his witneſſes ſo long a life to publiſh what they had ſeen, and known, that it is made a queſtion whether Chriſtianity be farther ſpread at preſent, then it was before the death of all the Apoſtles. And then they all (for we may ſay St. *John* ſuffer'd death, tho he out-lived it) ſealed with their blood the truth of what they had preach'd, and publiſh'd. And afterwards, the Scripture being likewiſe publiſh'd and abundantly atteſted, there needed no more Martyrs of the Hiſtory, but only for the doctrine: and they are no leſs Martyrs who ſuffer death rather then they will commit a Sin, againſt which our Saviour hath pronounced damnation, then they who aſſert his Paſſion, and Reſurrection. And, as hath bin ſaid before, the greateſt number of the primitive Martyrs, were never queſtion'd about the Hiſtory of our Saviour, of which the perſecutors had never particularly heard, but were condemn'd for renouncing their Religion in which they had bin bred, and denying thoſe to be Gods, who were worſhipped as ſuch by that Country; for which Mr. *Hobbes* hath obliged himſelf to have no reverence: and however they are challeng'd, and made to be Martyrs for that Religion, which now aſſumes the Soveraignty over all Religion, there was not one amongſt them whoever heard of any of thoſe opinions which are ſince grown up between Chriſtians, *nor ſuffer'd for any thing, but what all the Chriſtians at preſent in the world do believe.* And the Martyrdom of all who have ſince ſuffer'd death for the maintenance of any particular opinion, hath conſiſted only in that they would not

deny what in truth they believ'd, or pretend to believe what they thought apparent to be falſe: which is not therefore to be condemned, becauſe Mr. *Hobbes* is reſolved to decline it.

In this Rapſody of extravagant notions he proceeds to the diſſecting the Commiſſion granted by our Saviour to the Apoſtles, and with the licence of a Grammarian tranſlates the terms of their Commiſſion, to make their office of as little autority as he wiſhes it to be. He ſaies Preaching ſignifies nothing, (pag. 273.) *but what a Crier, or Herald, or other Officer uſeth to do publicly, in proclaiming a King; and a Crier, he ſaieth, hath not right to command any man: that teaching is the ſame thing with Preaching, but to teach that Jeſus was Chriſt, and riſen from the dead, is not to ſay, that men are bound after they believe it, to obey thoſe that tell them ſo againſt the commands of their Soveraign, but that they ſhall do wiſely to expect the coming of Chriſt hereafter, in patience, and faith, with obedience to their preſent magiſtrate.* All which ſignifies nothing, if it doth not ſignify, that where ever Idolatry is the Religion of the Soveraign, what ever they do believe themſelves, they are to practice Idolatry ſtill, and to perform all the Rites of Infidells, till the coming of Chriſt himſelf to juſtify their converſion. And this no queſtion is his meaning: to which I ſhall apply no other anſwer then the ſtating his propoſition. And if there could remain any doubt, ſince that meaning is ſo very bad, that it could not be his, he will quickly remove that doubt in the Survey he takes of Baptiſm, and the obligation thereof. He ſaies that (pag. 274.) *Baptiſm in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghoſt,*

is

is dipping in their names (you ſhall rarely find him call them three Perſons, for the incongruity it would introduce in Philoſophy.) *The meaning of which words of Baptiſm is this, He that is baptized is dipped or waſhed as a ſign of becoming a new man, and a Loyal Subject to that God that was repreſented by* Moſes, *and to Jeſus Chriſt his Son God and man, that hath redeem'd us, and ſhall in his human nature repreſent his Fathers Perſon in his eternal Kingdom after the Reſurrection, and to acknowledge the doctrine of the Apoſtles, who being aſſiſted by the ſpirit of the Father and the Son* (he tells us often that Spirit ſignifies nothing but mind) *were left for guides to bring us to that Kingdom, to be the only and aſſur'd way thereunto.* And ſo that you may not ſuſpect him to be a better Chriſtian then he is, he hath taken the pains to let you know again the little eſteem he hath of the Trinity. This being our promiſe in Baptiſm, and the autority of Earthly Soveraigns being not to be put down (1. *Cor.* 25. 22, 23, 24.) till the day of judgment, for that he ſaies, is (*pag.* 274.) *expreſsly affirmed by* St. Paul, *it is manifeſt that we do in Baptiſm conſtitute an other autority over us, by which our externall actions are to be govern'd in this life, but promiſe to take the doctrine of the Apoſtles for our direction in the way to life eternal.* So that the greater moiety of the world being (according to the computation made by the Learned men) mere Heathen men, and Pagans, and much the greater part of the other moiety being Mahometans (no account being taken of the Jews) neither the one, or the other, however they may in their hearts believe the doctrine of the Apoſtles, are bound to make profeſſion outwardly of the

Chriſti-

Chriſtian Religion, before the ſecond coming of our Saviour to judgment, except their own Soveraigns command them ſo to do. And in all theſe ravings he hath Texts of Scripture at hand, which he perverts, and interprets to his own ends, contrary to the genuine ſenſe, and indeed to the whole analogy of faith, and Scripture, (as any man muſt conclude who examines them) and the interpretation which hath bin alwaies made of them before Mr. *Hobbes*.

A man would imagine that he had bin contented, that the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors ſhould enjoy ſome dignity and prerogative, when he confeſſes that (pag. 274.) *the end of Baptiſm is remiſſion of Sins, and to baptiſe is to declare the reception of men into Gods Kingdom, and to refuſe to baptize is to declare their excluſion; and that the power to declare them caſt out, or retained in it, was given to the Apoſtles, and their ſubſtitutes and ſucceſſors.* But he quickly humbles them from this exaltation, and ſince no man can judg the ſecret thoughts of the heart, he ſaies, (pag. 275.) *the Apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors were to follow the outward marks of repentance, which appearing, they had no autority to deny abſolution.* Beſides they alwaies were, and are but miniſterial, they have nothing to do to judg of (pag. 275.) *the truth of repentance; that belongs to the aſſembly of the faithful, the judgment belonging to them, and only the publication of it to the Apoſtle, or Paſtor of the Church as Prolocutor*, after the aſſembly had firſt heard the cauſe, and determin'd it. So that it ſeems St. *Peter* was a little too preſumtious, in undertaking to know the heart of *Ananias*, and *Saphira*, and in pronouncing ſo ſevere a judgment upon

upon them without ſo much as asking the advice of the aſſembly. I ſhall not accompany him in his diſquiſition upon Excommunication, the uſe and effects of it, upon whom it is to be exercis'd, and for what faults, or the conditions which are requiſite to make men liable to it, and whether the teacher of Chriſtian doctrine may as a maſter in any Science, abandon his Diſciples that obſtinately continue in an unchriſtian life. But he cannot ſay the excommunicate have wrong, becauſe they are not obliged to obey, in all which he mingles great errors, with ſome truth well expreſſed, and the errors being of a leſs magnitude then thoſe he is uſually guilty of, I ſhall not particularly inſiſts upon them. But I cannot but obſerve his cloſe deſign, to make the fooliſhneſs of Preaching of no effect, by his abſolving their auditory from any kind of obligation to believe them; which he would not attemt to do, if he had leſs autority then from the Apoſtles themſelves. (*Acts* 17. 3, 3.) For from St. *Pauls* behaviour in the Synagogue in *Theſſalonica* (pag. 280.) *when ſome of them believed, and others did not believe*, he finds the reaſon was, *that St. Paul came to them without any legal Commiſſion, came only to perſwade them, and reaſoned with them out of the Scriptures, which were well known to the Jews, and believed by them to be the word of God. And the reaſon why, when they all believed the Scripture, they did not all alike believe him, was, that ſome approved, and others diſapproved the interpretation which* St. Paul *had made, and every one interpreted them to himſelf; for whoever perſwades by reaſoning from principles written, makes him to whom he ſpeaks judg both of the meaning of thoſe principles, and alſo of the force of his in-*

ferences

ferences upon them. If St. Paul *had bin to be Judg himſelf of what he ſaid, what needed he to have quoted any places of Scripture to prove his doctrine? It had bin enough to have ſaid, I find it ſo in Scripture, that is to ſay in your laws, of which I am interpreter, as ſent from Chriſt. Therefore the Jews of* Theſſalonica, *were the ſole Judges of what* St. Paul *alledged out of Scripture; and every man might believe, or not believe, according as the allegations ſeem'd to him, ſelf, to be agreeable to the meaning of the places alledged. And generally,* he ſaies, *in all caſes of the world, he that pretendeth any proof, maketh him Judg of his proof to whom he addreſſeth his ſpeech.* Which cleerly abſolves the Jews for not believing our Saviour himſelf when he alledged Texts of Scripture to inform and convince them, and abſolves all private men from yielding obedience, or believing the interpretation of Judges in point of Law, if their own ſenſe pleaſes them better; which introduces as wild a confuſion in Church and State, as himſelf can wiſh; and he, and his Diſciples would become the only confident Interpreters of the Law and the Goſpel.

It is a very painful thing to read this two and fortieth Chapter of Mr. *Hobbes*, in which all the looſe and licentious reflections upon piety, and religion, the undervaluing and perverting the Scripture, and the utter contemt of the Church, which are a little more warily ſcatter'd throughout his book, (that is, by being ſcattered, not ſo eaſily diſcern'd) are collected, and gathered more cloſely together into ſuch a Maſs of impiety, that the very repeting all the particulars, without which they cannot be replied to, muſt be more grievous and offenſive to

moſt

moſt devout Perſons, then the moſt unclean diſcourſe can appear to the chaſteſt eares. And the argument being of power Eccleſiaſtical, he hath made all Eccleſiaſtical power to be of no ſignification, and the moſt uſeleſs thing upon the earth. Our Saviour himſelf (who is the Fountain from whence all Eccleſiaſtical power muſt flow) he hath diſcover'd to have ſo little autority when he was here, that he could delegate little to his Apoſtles: And ſince men were not bound to believe him, nor committed any fault if they did not believe him, he could not leave his Apoſtles in a ſtate of more reverence and eſteem: and their greateſt priviledg was, to leave the converſation of thoſe, who did not care for their company. And that he might with great method and order make all this appear, is the buſineſs of this very long Chapter, towards which the moſt innocent Paragraph in it contributes ſomewhat, as appears by thoſe which we have already examin'd, and therefore we can take little delight, or adminiſter it to others, in the Survey of the reſt. It cannot but be wonder'd at, that Mr. *Hobbes*, who evidently hath taken pains in reading the Scripture, to what ill purpoſes, and with what evil intentions ſoever, could have the confidence to affirm, (pag. 281.) *that the Apoſtles preached not h ng, but that Jeſus was the Chriſt, &c. that he was not dead but riſen again from the dead, and gon up into Heaven, and ſhould come again to judg the world, &c.* All which are indeed the Elements of the Chriſtian faith, but he ſaies, *none of them preached, that himſelf, or any other Apoſtle was ſuch an interpreter of the Scripture, as all that became Chriſtians, ought to take their interpretations for Law.* The founda-

tion must be, that it might be believ'd, that Christ the Messias was come, for till that was believ'd, who he said, or what he did was of little moment. Yet their great business too was to make them know, that the simple believing that, would not serve their turn; that Christian Religion did not consist more, (it may be not so much) in believing, as in doing. In all Christs Sermons upon the Mount, there is very little of opinion taught, or prescribed only the practice of Christian duties was vigorously urged. *Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them: whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doth them.* Matt. 7. 24. A great part of his redemption was, that he qualified us to receive redemption, and tho he paid the price of his blood for our ransome, yet he left something to be don still by us, in following his example, and observing his Precepts. The informing, and convincing the world of this, was the office of the Apostles; and all they said, and all they wrote, were interpretations, and comments upon what our Saviour himself had said, and don, and together contain'd so perfect a body of Christianity, that we are not obliged to any thing under the penalty of damnation, but what is contained therein, or evidently deduced from thence. The office of the Apostles was to point out, and demonstrate the way to that Salvation, which was so dearly purchased for us; and efficaciously to prove, that the declining that way, and walking in a contrary path, must lead us to eternal perdition; and confidently to declare, and pronounce the reward and the punishment to both, that men may chuse for themselves. This they were to do, and this they did, and after all this, are we now to believe

that

that they had no authority for what they did, and that we have no obligation upon us, nor the Jew, nor the Gentile before us, to believe what they said, or to do what they enjoined?

Mr. *Hobbes* is the first Commentator upon the Evangelists, who upon that advice of our Saviours, *Search the Scriptures*, John 5. 39. observes and concludes, (*pag.* 281.) *that if our Saviour himself had not meant that the Jews should interpret the Scriptures, he would not have bidden them to search them, and take from thence the proof of his being the Christ, but he would either have interpreted them himself, or referred them to the interpretation of the Priests*; that is, because as he vouchsafed to expose his Miracles to the test and examination of their grossest senses, so now by condescending to quote Scripture for his own manifestation, he intended to make themselves the Judges, whether he spoke to the purpose or no, and at liberty to believe him or not, without forfeiture of their innocence. Did he not interpret the Scriptures himself, when by the several Texts, which he cited out of several of the Prophets, he made it evident to them, that those Prophesies were of his Person, and could refer to none else? And since they all confessed that they were the word of God, he advised them to search the Scriptures, because they are they that testifie of him. The Apostles observe the same method, demonstrate out of the Prophets, whom they all professed to believe, what Christ must do when he came, and what must be don to him, and that all that was don and suffered by him which was fore-told. His admirable Life and Doctrine was well known to them all, they had bin present at his trial, and at his death, and had with their eies seen the ter-

rible circumſtances of it; they had ſeen him buried, and the Jews had providently appointed a guard of Soldiers, who had without remorſe beheld his Paſſion, to watch his Tomb: and yet after all this vigilance, the Body was not found, but as he had promiſed himſelf, and what had bin by the Prophets fore-told of him, the third day he was riſen; of which there were ſo many eie-witneſſes, who had ſeen, and conferr'd with him for many daies, and had at laſt beheld with their bodily eies, his Body aſcend in the air towards Heaven. And beſides that the greateſt part of all this was ſeen and known by all the People, the Preachers and Declarers of it appear'd to be very extraordinary men, by the daily Miracles they wrought, by wch ſuch multitudes were compell'd, & could not reſiſt believing all they ſaid, and promis'd to obſerve the Precepts they enjoin'd. But all this is nothing: others, and much greater numbers did, and lawfully might refuſe to do either; for Mr. *Hobbes* ſaies poſitively, (*pag.* 281.) that *the people had liberty to interpret the Scriptures to themſelves, till ſuch time as there ſhould be Paſtors that could autorize an Interpreter, whoſe interpretation ſhould be generally ſtood to; but that could not be till Kings were Paſtors, or Paſtors Kings.* So that what the Apoſtles, or our Saviour himſelf had ſaid, laid no obligation upon thoſe who heard them.

We have now the reaſon why he was concern'd ſo much to extend thoſe plain words of the Children of *Iſrael*, in their fright, to *Moſes*, *Speak thou to us, and we will hear thee*, to ſuch an abſolute obligation of their obedience, ſince without it, he ſaies, (*pag.* 282.) *they had not bin obliged to have receiv'd the ten Commandments, ſince they were forbid to approach*

the

the mountain, by which they might have heard what God said to Moſes: but that obligation that they would hear *Moſes*, made all ſure again, and ſo they came to receive them. Yet he confeſſes, (*pag.* 282.) that *they could not but acknowledg the ſecond Table for Gods Laws, becauſe they were all the Laws of Nature*: but for thoſe of the firſt Table that were peculiar to the *Iſraelites*, (which gives him occaſion to enlarge his Commentary upon the third Commandment, in which he ſaies, the meaning of thoſe words, *They ſhall not take the name of God in vain, is, that they ſhould not ſpeak raſhly of their King, nor diſpute his right, nor the Commiſſions of* Moſes *and* Aaron *his Lieutenants*) it was their own obligation (Speak thou to us, and we will hear, *&c.*) by which they were to receive them as Laws, and (*pag.* 283.) *the Judicial Law, which God preſcrib'd to the Magiſtrates of* Iſrael, *for the rule of the adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Levitical Law, the rule preſcrib'd touching the rites and ceremonies of the Prieſts and Levites, becauſe Laws*, he ſaies, *only by virtue of the ſame promiſe of obedience to* Moſes. And ſo he proceeds to a new enquiry into the authenticalneſs of the Old and New Teſtament (in which chaſe I am weary of following him) and concludes, (*pag.* 284.) that *whoever offers us any other rules, which the Soveraign rule hath not preſcrib'd, they are but counſel and advice, which whether good or bad, he that is counſel'd may without injuſtice refuſe to obſerve.* And (*pag.* 285.) that *the Scripture of the New Teſtament is there only Law, where the lawful Civil Power hath made it ſo.*

Since the reception of the New Teſtament as a Law (that is, within the Canon of Scripture) depends wholly upon the word of the Soveraign, and

by

by that word is receiv'd and acknowledg'd to be the word of God, and from thence is obeied as such: it must likewise, by his rule, ſtill ſubſiſt by the ſole autority of the Soveraign, for he can by his word to morrow abrogate that which this day he made a Law. So that if a Chriſtian Soveraign be ſucceeded by a Soveraign who is a Jew, or an evil Chriſtian, he may abrogate that Law by which the New Teſtament was declar'd to be within the Canon of Scripture, and then the Subjects muſt neither (*pag.* 285.) *in their actions or diſcourſe obſerve the ſame, and can only privately wiſh, that they had liberty to practice them*; by which the confeſſed word of God muſt be made void, and controul'd by the commandments of man. And he hath the confidence to aver, that the very Council held by the Apoſtles, in which they uſe this ſtyle, *It ſeem'd good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, &c.* hath no autority to oblige any body, (*pag.* 286.) *ſince the Apoſtles could have no other power then that of our Saviour, who could only perſwade, not command, for they who have no Kingdom can make no Laws.* And ſo I hope *Leviathan* hath now laid about him, and perform'd his full function, which makes him worthy to receive a more reaſonable anſwer then is in the power of any private Perſon, or of the Univerſities to give him, and is very fit for the State it ſelf to reward him for, to the full extent of his deſert.

Mr. *Hobbes* hath inveſted the Soveraign with his abſolute independent power, by the example of *Moſes*, and *David*, and *Solomon*, both in Church and State; and being obliged to confeſs, that for ſome hundred of years after the preaching of the Goſpel, there was no Civil Soveraign to meddle with it, but

that

that the direction of all Ecclesiastical Affairs appertain'd to the Apostles and their successors, and those who were ordain'd by them, he finds a way to invest his Christian Monarch with that Jurisdiction and Supremacy, by the right all Heathen Soveraigns had, who had the name of Pastors of the People, because there was no Subject that could lawfully teach the People, but by their permission and authority; and therein hardly can think, that the right of Heathen Kings is taken away by their conversion to the Faith of Christ, who never ordain'd, that Kings for believing in him should be deposed, that is, disinvested to any but himself. And therefore Christian Princes are still the supreme Pastors of their People, and have power to ordain what Pastors they please to teach the Church. But to make their title the more unquestionable, he resorts to the title he found out for his Soveraign by institution, that from the pact and covenant which the people made to, and with each other, he becomes the Representative of the people, which he confesses, that he that makes himself Soveraign, by his irresistible Power, without any election, pact or covenant, likewise is the Representative of the people, and so hath the same power and authority, as if he were by their election. He finds now, that the Christian Soveraign, assoon as he is Christian, becomes the Representative of the Church, and so the Teachers he elects are elected by the Church, which was all the title they had from the time of the Apostles to the time of the Soveraigns becoming Christian, from which time he is the true Representative of the Church as well as of the State, (*pag.* 299.) *and from this consolidation of the right Politic*

and

and Eccleſiaſtic in Chriſtian Soveraigns, he ſaies, *it is evident, that they have all manner of power over their Subjects that can be given to man, and may make ſuch Laws, as themſelves ſhall judge fitteſt for the government of their own Subjects, both as they are the Commonwealth, and as they are the Church.* But as his Civil Soveraign rejects his Inſtitution, and knows he hath much a better title to his power, then he could have by pretending to be the Repreſentative of the People; ſo his Chriſtian Soveraign will as much reject the being Repreſentative of the Church, knowing that he hath a better title by being Soveraign, to govern his Clery, and all Eccleſiaſtical perſons in his own Dominions, and for ſuppreſſing all ſeditious and erroneous Doctrines, which may diſturb the Peace, or diſcredit the Integrity of the Church, then ſuch a Repreſentation would give him. And they are little beholding to him for deriving their Supremacy Eccleſiaſtical from the Heathen Princes, ſince few Heathen Soveraigns ever pretended to have the ſupreme, or indeed any power or autority in what concern'd the ſervice and worſhip of their God the direction and government whereof appertain'd to Magiſtrates, and Miniſters aſſigned for that Sacred Province: as the Great Turk himſelf (as hath bin ſaid before) doth not give Laws, but receives advice, and the interpretation of the Mufty, in whatſoever *Mahomet* hath enjoin'd to be don.

But let the title be what it will, he will be ſure that his Soveraign ſhall have a power as unlimitted in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, as in Civil; and not only to give what Religion he thinks fit, and to allow what Book he pleaſes for Scripture to his Subjects, but that he may himſelf if he pleaſes, perform all the

Fun-

Functions himſelf in Religion (*pag.* 287.) *as to baptize, adminiſter the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, conſecrate Temples and Paſtors to Gods ſervice.* And he ſaies, *the reaſon is evident why they do it not; which is no other, but that they have ſomwhat elſe to do.* However he is ſure *they may be the literal Paſtors of their own Subjects in their own perſons, and have autority to Preach, to Baptize, to adminiſter the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and to conſecrate both Temples and Perſons to Gods ſervice:* which he doth not grant, out of the high qualifications which he believes to be inherent in the power and perſon of a King, but from the low eſteem he hath of thoſe Offices and Myſteries of Religion. For fore-ſeeing the objection that thoſe adminiſtrations (by the teſtimony of all Antiquity) require the impoſition of ſuch mens hands, as by the like impoſition ſucceſſively from the time of the Apoſtles have bin ordain'd to the like Miniſtry; he removes that difficulty, by offering a proſpect of the original and uſe of the Impoſition of Hands, and inſtructs us from the perpetual cuſtom and uſage in all Nations, of Impoſition of Hands as well in Civil as in Sacred occaſions, as well in inflicting puniſhment, as in conferring Honors and Dignities; as in the condemnation of him who blaſphemes the Lord, *all that heard him, ſhall lay their hands upon his head,* and that *all the Congregation ſhould ſtone him.* And when *Jairus* his daughter was ſick, he did not deſire our Saviour to heal her, but to lay his hands upon her, that ſhe might be healed. And they brought little Children up to him, that he might lay his hands upon them, &c. And the reaſon is, he ſaies, (*pag.* 298.) *as in the caſe of the Blaſphemer, where the witneſſes laid their hands upon the guilty perſon, rather*

then a Prieſt or Levite, or other Miniſter of Juſtice, becauſe none elſe were able to deſign or demonſtrate to the eies of the Congregation, who it was that had blaſphemed, and ought to die, ſo in other things, *it is natural to deſign any individual thing, rather by the hand to aſſure the eies, then by words to inform the ear in matters of Gods public ſervice.* All which, and many other Texts of which he never finds want to any purpoſe, muſt ſignifie, if they ſignifie any thing, that the Impoſition of hands, that venerable circumſtance that hath bin from the beginning of Chriſtianity, and where-ever it is profeſſed, applied to all Eccleſiaſtical Functions, is to no other purpoſe but to point out the perſon, that all the people may know who is the perſon that is ordained: but the perſon of every Soveraign Prince, is too notorious and perſpicuous to need any ſuch demonſtration, and therefore he may Baptize, Preach and Conſecrate, and do all other Offices without it. To all which, I ſhall ſuſpend any farther anſwer, until he can prevail with one Chriſtian Prince to aſſume and exerciſe the power he ſo frankly confers upon him, or one Chriſtian Subject willing to receive thoſe Honors and Graces from their Royal Hands.

I have waited upon Mr. *Hobbes* into Cardinal *Bellarmine*'s Quarters, and I will not interpoſe and diſturb him there in the Controverſie he hath with him, which takes up the remainder of his Forty ſecond Chapter, more then to ſay, that he takes upon him to anſwer that Book of *Bellarmine*, which of all that ever he writ is moſt eaſie to be anſwer'd, having leſs of Reaſon and Learning in it, and having few Aſſertors, and being generally condemn'd among the Papiſts themſelves, and particularly by the Col-

ledg

ledg of *Sorbone*, the faireſt Repreſenters of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*: and in anſwering of which, he hath ſaid nothing new, nor ſo ſubſtantially as many others have don, as he muſt confeſs, if he reads *William Berkeley*, the Father of *John*. He contends with *Bellarmine* for ſome Texts of Scripture, which, he ſaies, conclude for his Soveraign, upon which the other would eſtabliſh the ſupreme autority of the Pope; and which in truth, cannot be applied with any colour to either of them. And he cannot take it ill, that I have, and ſhall take the ſame method in anſwering many of his Arguments, which he himſelf thought fit to do, before he would enter upon any particular diſquiſition of thoſe of the Cardinals, by laying open the conſequences of his Doctrine, (*pag.* 314.) that *Princes, and States, that have the Civil Soveraignty in their ſeveral Common-wealths, may bethink themſelves, whether it be convenient for them, and conducing to the good of their Subjects, of whom they are to give an account at the day of Judgment, to admit the ſame*: which way of expoſing his whole Book, is without doubt the beſt way of anſwering it.

I ſhall only add, that as it was unreaſonably undertaken by *Bellarmine*, to eſtabliſh a title that depends upon matter of Fact by arguments from Reaſon, which proves, that it ought to be ſo; ſo Mr. *Hobbes*, who when Hiſtory controuls him, thinks it a ſufficient anſwer to ſay, *If it was not ſo, it ſhould be ſo*, as unreaſonably follows the ſame method, and would, by the ill conſequences which would flow from ſuch a right, deveſt the Pope of an autority, which he confidently ſaies was granted to him immediately by our Saviour, and hath bin enjoied by

his Predeceſſors from that time to this. Which if true, all the arguments from Reaſon may fortifie, but can never a ſhake a Right ſo founded upon a clear and plain Grant, from one who had an Original power to grant, and wherewith the poſſeſſion hath gon ever ſince. He therefore who will pertinently anſwer and controul theſe pretences (which Mr. *Hobbes* can well do, if it would not croſs ſome other of his Doctrines) muſt do it by poſitively denying any ſuch grant, which never was, nor ever can be produced in ſuch plain and ſignificant terms, as are neceſſary to the grant of the moſt inferior Office in any Church or State. He would make it manifeſtly appear, that for many hundred of Years no Biſhop of *Rome* made the leaſt pretence to any ſuch Soveraignty; and when they began to make it, with what a torrent of contradiction it was rejected. He would make it evident, that all that power which that See aſſum'd, was granted to them by Kings and Princes, and reſtor'd to them again when they were oppreſſed by their own Factions and Schiſms, and by more powerful Enemies. He would point out the very Article of time, when by the Incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals* into *Italy*, and the foul arts practiced by the Popes, their autority by degrees increaſed to great height, by the bounty of *Charlemain*, in making them great Temporal Princes; againſt the inconvenience whereof he thought he had ſufficiently provided, when he reſerved to himſelf, and ſucceeding Emperors, to make all the Popes. He would ſhew them many wonderful accidents, by which the power of the Emperor grew to decay, and the weakneſs of all neighbor Kings and Princes, by the Rebellions in their ſeveral Kingdoms, and their unreaſonable

ſonable bloody Wars amongſt themſelves; and then the artifices ſtill practiced by the Popes to foment thoſe Diviſions, and to contribute to their own Greatneſs and Uſurpation; notwithſtanding all which, that there hath not bin one Century of Years from St. *Peter* to this time, that there hath not bin ſome notorious oppoſition and contradiction to that Supremacy, which was argument enough, that it was never look'd upon as a Catholic verity. All this he would prove to be true; as likewiſe, that no Prince of the Roman communion, who at preſent is moſt indulgent to it, (as all of them are in ſuch a degree as is moſt advantageous to their own affairs) look upon it as ſuch, and that a ſubmiſſion to the Popes autority, except it be commanded or allowed by the King, and the Law, is not taken for a part of Religion in any Kingdom but that of *England*. This is the method that muſt be taken towards the enervating thoſe high pretences: and if it were vigorouſly purſued by one well verſed in the Pontifical Hiſtories, in which he needs no other witneſs then their own Records, I mean Popiſh Writers, all the World would be convinc'd, except only ſuch Princes who are very well paid for the communication of part of their Soveraignty to him, that the Pope hath not out of his own Dominions, ſo much as the power of the Metropolitan Schole-maſter, which Mr. *Hobbes* ſeems willing to confer upon him.

The

The Survey of Chapter 43.

HE who hath taken so ill a Survey of Heaven it self, is not like to be a good guide for the way thither (which is the buſineſs of his forty third Chapter) and which, into how little room ſoever he brings all that is neceſſary to Salvation, would be very difficult to find, if it were not for his old expedient, his Soveraigns commands, ſince the moſt preſcrib'd and known way, which hath bin thought to lead thither, (is quite damn'd up by him) the Scriptures. (*pag.* 303.) *That which made the Patriarchs, and the Prophets of old to believe, was God himſelf, who ſpake unto unto them ſupernaturally, and the perſon whom the Apoſtles, and Diſciples that converſed with Chriſt believ'd was our Saviour himſelf. But of us, to whom neither God the Father, nor our Saviour ever ſpoke*, he ſaies, *it cannot be ſaid that the perſon whom we believe, is God. So that the faith of Chriſtians ever ſince our Saviours time, hath had no other foundation, then the reputation of their Paſtors, and the Old, and New Teſtament, which their Soveraign Princes have made the rule of their faith; which Princes are the only perſons whom Chriſtians now hear ſpeak from God*, and to whom conſequently they are beholding for their Salvation. Admit that ſingle contracted Article *Jeſus is Chriſt*, comprehends all that is neceſſary to Salvation, for he confeſſes, that *he*

who

who holdeth that foundation, Jesus is the Christ, holdeth expressly all that he seeth rightly deduced from it, and implicitly all that is consequent thereunto, tho he have not skill enough to discern the consequence; I demand still, how they shall believe this Article whom their Soveraigns forbid to look upon the New Testament as Scripture, which is all the evidence they can have for it: and yet he saies, (*pag.* 327.) *for the belief of this Article, we are to reject the authority of an Angel from Heaven, much more of any mortal man if he teach the contrary*. I know well he reconciles this contradiction by believing in the heart, and denying with the tongue, having the example of *Naaman*. But how shall he believe in his heart if he be depriv'd of the New Testament? and if he doth come to believe in his heart as he ought to do, what affection and duty can he have for that Soveraign who will not be saved himself, and requires him to renounce his Saviour? He must be content with a mere verbal affection without any influence upon the heart, which is much less duty then he requires towards his Soveraign whom he is so intirely to obey, that he must say all he bids him say, and do all he bids him do: so much more duty he requires for his Earthly then for his Heavenly Soveraign. I wish with all my heart that Mr. *Hobbes* did remember, or believe his own good rule in the end of this Chapter, which would have preserved him from many presumtions, which administer great trouble and grief to his Readers for his sake, (*pag.* 331.) *It is not the bare words but the scope of the writer that giveth the true light by which any writing is to*

be

be interpreted, and they that insist upon single Texts, without considering the main design, can derive nothing from them clearly; but rather by casting atomes of Scripture, as dust before mens eies, make every thing more obscure then it is; an ordinary artifice, he saies, *of those that seek not the truth but their own advantage.* Alas! that it should be an advantage to Mr. *Hobbes* to perswade men to believe that *Our Saviour hath not given us new Laws, but counsel to observe those we are subject to; and that in his Sermon upon the Mount,* (which is the *compendium* of Christianity) *he did not make any new Laws to the Jews, but only expound the Law of* Moses, *to which they were subject before.* Since all those plain, and lively precepts of charity and humility, and a virtuous and pious life, were more then an exposition of the Law of *Moses*, sure his declaration, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her &c. was more then an interpretation of that Commandement, Thou shalt not commit Adultery. If his determination, That whosoever should put away his Wife, saving for the cause of Adultery, &c. be not a new Law, it cannot be a Commentary upon that of *Moses*, Let him give her a writing of Divorcement. Was the utter suppression of circumcision, was the total abolishing all their Sacrifices, making no new Law to the Jews, but only expounding the Law of *Moses*? And yet he came not to destroy the Law, or the Prophets, but to fulfil: and when he had fulfilled what was there foretold of him, the Law became *felo-de-se*, and ceased to be useful any longer. When our Saviour bid the *Pharisees* learn what

that

that Text in the Prophet *Hoſea* meaneth, *I will have mercy, and not Sacrifice*, did he intend they ſhould repair to the Law of *Moſes* for inſtruction, becauſe they were ſubject to it? I do with ſome paſſion deſire Mr. *Hobbes* to conſider ſadly (for there will at ſome time or other, before he ſtruggles out of this world, be ſadneſs to him in the conſideration) whether it be probable, or poſſible, that our Saviour ſhould give ſuch a charge to his Apoſtles, that when in any Houſe or City, they who were in it refuſed to receive them, or hear their words, that they ſhould ſhake off the duſt of their feet, with ſo terrible a Declaration by our Saviour himſelf, *Verily I ſay unto you, it ſhall be more tolerable for the Land of* Sodome *and* Gomorrah *in the day of Judgment, then for that City*, *Mat.* 10. 15. I ſay, can any man imagine, that Chriſt ſhould there have made ſo fierce a denunciation, if he had intended the Precepts which himſelf, and his Apoſtles gave, ſhould be looked upon only as good Counſel, which men might as innocently disbelieve as believe; and that they which ſhould believe, might ſecurely ſuſpend yielding any obedience to what he directed, till his ſecond coming to Judgment? Indeed the day of Judgment would be ſo far from being a day of terror, that it would be as feſtival a day, as Mr. *Hobbes* himſelf can wiſh it, if none be to be puniſhed there for not obſerving the advice, or not obeying the precepts which our Saviour, and his Apoſtles gave to them. But of this I have ſaid enough before, which I think I need not to repete or inlarge upon, and am willing to get

out, and wiſh Mr. *Hobbes* will likewiſe, from this maze and labyrinth of confuſion, and be adviſ'd by himſelf, *to give over the caſting atomes of Scripture as duſt before mens eies, to make every thing more obſcure then it is.*

I cannot omit the obſervation of the three ſeveral definitions which he makes of Hereſy in three ſeveral places, as they were ſuitable to his occaſions; which himſelf declares to proceed from ignorance, when (*pag.* 50.) *men give different names to one and the ſame thing, from the difference of their own paſſions.* In his eleventh Chapter, whilſt he affected to be plain and perſpicuous in his expreſſions, and explanation of words, he ſaies, *Hereſy ſignifies no more then private opinion, but has only a tincture of greater choler*; but in his forty Second Chapter of the power Eccleſiaſtical, in which it concern'd him to be wary what puniſhment he permitted to be inflicted on it, he declares, that (*pag.* 277.) *an Heretic is he, that being a member of the Church, teacheth nevertheleſs ſome private opinion which the Church hath forbidden.* Which knowing to be his own caſe, he was very well contented to reſort to St. *Paul*, and to grant him autority in this caſe to make rules as well as to give advice, and finds his direction to *Titus* to be ſuch as pleaſes him, *A man that is an Heretic after the firſt and ſecond admonition reject*, *Tit.* 3. 10. but to reject in this place he ſaies is not to excommunicate the man, but to give over admoniſhing him, to let him alone, to ſet by diſputing with him as one that is to be convinc'd only by himſelf; and then he doubts not to ſhift for

for himſelf. But now when he hath better thought of it in his conteſt with *Bellarmine*, he hath reaſon to be ſorry that he hath left ſo much autority in the Church, as to reject in his own ſenſe, leaſt the Cardinal procures that power for the Pope, whom he hath allowed to be the Maſter Schole-Maſter, and then he may find another ſignification of *reject*, then letting him alone. And therefore he now pronounces (*pag.* 317.) *that Hereſy is nothing elſe but a private opinion obſtinately maintained, contrary to the opinion which the public perſon (that is to ſay the Repreſentant of the Commonwealth) hath commanded to be taught:* by which he ſaies, *it is manifeſt* (he hath made it manifeſt by his definition) *that an opinion publicly appointed to be taught cannot be hereſy, nor the Soveraign Princes that autorize them, Heretics.* And yet he may remember, that the doctrine of *Arius*, after it was condemned by the Catholic Church, was not thought to be the leſs Hereſy for the countenance it receiv'd from two or three Emperours, or for being allowed in the dominions of ſeveral Princes, and tho the Pope himſelf (*Liberius*) to redeem himſelf from Baniſhment, which was inflicted upon him, for refuſing to condemn *Athanaſius*, became likewiſe an *Arian*. So that Mr. *Hobbes* was not the firſt inventor of that expedient, *by believing in the heart and denying with the mouth.* But ſtill he is in an ill caſe: for his own Soveraign hath already condemn'd him in the declaratory Law, that whoſoever contradicts any thing that is determined by, or in the four firſt General Councils, is an Heretic, and to be proceeded a-

gainſt, and cenſured as ſuch, which form will not be ſatisfied by rejecting him, and leaving him to himſelf. So that there is but one way to ſave him harmleſs, which is his not being obſtinate; and that, whoſoever knows him, or believes him, will undertake he ſhall never make uſe of.

The

The Fourth Part.

The Survey of Chapter 44.

WE are now to enter upon his fourth part of the Kingdom of darkneſs, where of the firſt Chapter, which is the forty fourth in number, will take us little time: the greateſt part being againſt the doctrine, or the practice of the Church of *Rome*, I ſhall not inlarge, but leave them to agree as they can. In the other part he doth but repete what he hath formerly, and in other places ſaid of Eternal Life, and Everlaſting Death (being a profeſſed adverſary to Eternity) and of the Immortality of the Soul (which by no means he allows) to all which ſomewhat hath likewiſe bin ſaid before. And I ſhall add no more, then what himſelf ſaies of ſome Popes, applying ſome places of Scripture to prove their autority over Kings and Princes, that it was not arguing from Scripture, but a wanton inſulting over Princes: ſo in truth, he doth not ſo much argue from, as inſult upon the Scripture, by perverting, and applying it to unnatural ſignifications, which never occurred to any man but himſelf, and will be beſt anſwered by that autority, which ought to controul ſuch preſumtuous undertakers. For why ſhould any particular man enter into diſpute with him, on the behalf of the Immortality

tality of the Soul, of the Eternity of the joies of Heaven, and the Everlastingness of the pains of Hell, as if they were points in Controversy, when no Christian Church in the world, makes, or admits the least doubt to be made of either. Nor can any man imagine, why he leads us into this his Kingdom of Darkness, but that he may resume again all those arguments which lie scatter'd through the several Chapters of his Book, and which can never prevail, whilst there is any light to direct the understanding by. He renews his particular dream of *Gods peculiar Kingdom over the Jews only, which ceased, and was determin'd by, and in the election of* Saul, which he saies, *he hath proved at large in the thirty fifth chapter*, as he believes he had don every thing that he hath once affirm'd, (how weakly or erroneously soever) and from the not understanding this, or not comprehending, *that from that time of* Saul, *God hath bin without a Kingdom, and we are not under any other Kings by pact, but our civil Soveraigns, men*, he saies, *are fallen in the error, that the present Church is Christs Kingdom.* But what argumentation can a man hold with him, who from the not understanding, or believing that dissolution of Gods Kingdom in the election of *Saul* (which no body ever heard of but from him) deduces the *Popes challenging to be vicar general of Christ in the present Church, the introduction of Purgatory, and Transubstantiation, and all other errors in the Church of* Rome, which he takes great pains to confute, and would perswade us to believe that the imagination of the Immortality of the Soul is the only ground and foundation of the general error of Eternal Life, and Everlasting Death; which makes him so (*pag.* 335.)

solemn-

ſolemnly endeavour to prove the nullity of either by ſo many Texts of Scripture which can never be difficult for him to do in this, and any other particular that occurs to him to prove; whilſt he may take upon him to pervert the current ſenſe, and interpretation of ſome Texts in Scripture to his own purpoſe, and to wreſt and torture words to comply with his extravagant Wit and Logic. And when he cannot decline the taking notice of other Texts, which manifeſtly controul his unnatural gloſſes, he may acquieſce in a confeſſion, that they are very hardly to be reconcil'd with the doctrine received; (*pag.* 347.) *nor*, he ſaies, *is it any ſhame to confeſs the profoundneſs of the Scripture to be too great to be ſounded by the ſhortneſs of human underſtanding*: which being prudently, and modeſtly conſider'd in the beginning of this Chapter, or rather in the beginning of his Book, might have ſaved the labour, and the reproch of moſt of the Texts of Scripture, which he hath unwarily or abſurdly quoted from the beginning, and which preſumtion and method he continues to the end of his Book. And as I have formerly ſaid, if a diligent peruſer of the whole doth mark what himſelf ſaies in one place, that will fully anſwer what he affirms in another, his Book would need no other refutation. As to that part of his moſt material argument againſt the Everlaſtingneſs of Hell fire in this Chapter, that (*pag.* 345.) *it ſeems very hard to ſay, that God who is the Father of mercies, that doth in Heaven and Earth all that he will, that hath the hearts of all men in his diſpoſal, that worketh in men both to do and to will, and without whoſe free gift, a man hath neither an inclination to good, nor repentance of evil, ſhould puniſh mens tranſgreſſions without*

any

any end of time, and with all the extremity of torture, that men can imagine, or more. All which will not require, nor can receive a fuller anſwer then he himſelf preſcribes, when he will eſtabliſh the utmoſt extent of arbitrary power in his inſtituted Soveraign. He ſaies, (pag. 153.) *it is reaſon, that he which do's injury without other limitation then that of his own will, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment, without other limitation then that of his will whoſe Law is thereby violated.* And ſo I ſhall keep him no longer company in his Kingdom of Darkneſs.

The

The Survey of Chapter 45.

I Should not preſume to except againſt ſo many of Mr. *Hobbes* his definitions, but that pretending to ſo much plainneſs and perſpicuity, and having declared the neceſſary uſe of definition to be for the ſetling the ſignification of words, without which he ſaies, *(pag. 15.) a man that ſeeks preciſe truth will find himſelf entangled in words as a bird in lime twiggs, the more he ſtruggles the more belimed:* and obſerving that rule for the moſt part throughout the firſt parts of his Book, except where he found it neceſſary for his own purpoſe, ſometimes to perplex and belime his Readers: yet in the two laſt parts, ſuppoſing that he hath enough captivated them to believe any thing he ſaies, he takes more care to fit his definitions for the ſupport of his aſſertions, then that his aſſertions may naturally reſult from the integrity of the definitions. Eſpecially ſince he hath gotten into his Kingdom of Darkneſs, he takes leſs care to illuſtrate the inſtances and ſimilies he thinks fit to uſe; and ſo good Philoſophers may comprehend what he means, he is content to leave his leſs knowing Readers involved and puzled amongſt hard words, with which they have not uſed to keep company. As he begins this Chapter, with the definition of ſight, which will not make any man ſee the farther or the better, (pag. 352.) *That ſight is an imagination made by the impreſſion on the Organs of ſight by lucide bodies, either*

in one direct line, or in many lines reflected from Opaque, or refracted in the paſſage through Diaphanous bodies, which produceth in living creatures, in whom God hath placed ſuch Organs, an imagination of the object from whence the impreſſion proceedeth. It may be doubted that many of his friends, who have given too much credit to all he ſaies, may have found themſelves in this definition entangled in words as a bird in Lime twiggs. And if it were neceſſary in this place to tell them what ſight is, they would have underſtood him better, if he had ſaid, that ſight is a faculty that God hath given to living creatures who keep their eies open. However whether it be clear or no it ſerves his turn, by his skill in Optics, and the unskilfulneſs he concludes moſt other men have in that ſcience, to examine that part of the Religion of the Gentiles, which was called Demonology. And by the credit that kind of learning had got among the Jews, he finds a way to controul the literal ſenſe of the Scripture in the moſt important places, and to undermine the miracles which were wrought by our Saviour himſelf. Rather then he will have his Geography and Geometry contradicted, and becauſe there (pag. 354.) *is not any Mountain high enough*, he ſaies, *to ſhew him one whole Hemiſphere*, he will have the Devil's carrying our Saviour unto a high Mountain, and all that relates thereunto, to be nothing elſe but a viſion, or dream, then which no Jew could more undervalue it, or Chriſt be more diſhonour'd, then to have his conflict with the enemy of mankind, to be look'd on only, and conſider'd as a dream.

And that his Philoſophy may be preſerved unhurt, which aſſures him, *that no corporeal Spirit*

may

may be in a body of Fleſh and Bone, full already of vital and animal Spirits, he will not believe that our Saviour ever caſt the Devil out of any man, only (pag. 354.) *that he cured thoſe perſons of madneſs or Lunacy*, which cures have bin wrought by many other Perſons, and ſo would be unworthy to be reckon'd amongſt the Miracles of Chriſt. Nor will he admit that Satan otherwiſe entred into *Judas*, then that *he had a traiterous intention of ſelling his Maſter*. I wonder he doth not impute his hanging himſelf afterwards, or hanging in the air, to nothing but a fit of Melancholy.

Under pretence of informing, and reforming the Church of *Rome* in their worſhipping of Images, which he ſaies (and it may be reaſonably) *is a reliqne of Gentiliſm, and rather left then brought into the Church, he could not avoid perſecuting it to Idolatry*, which he doth not think well enough defin'd, nor well enough defended by Chriſtian Divines. And remembring how he preſerved himſelf from renouncing our Saviour, when he denied that he believed in him (by believing in him in his heart at the ſame time that he denied him,) upon his Soveraigns command; he will not deprive his Soveraign of that prerogative, nor be without the benefit of his own fear in the liberty to commit Idolatry. And therefore that he may not be thought to do any thing out of ignorance (of wickedneſs he is not ſo tender) he declares frankly, that (pag. 360.) *to pray to the King for fair weather, or for any thing which God only can do for us, is divine worſhip, and Idolatry; on the other ſide, if the King compel a man to it by the terror of death, or other great corporal puniſhment, it is not Idolatry; for the worſhip which the Soveraign com-*

mandeth to be don unto himself by the terror of his Law, is not a sign that he that obeieth him, doth inwardly honor him as a God, but that he is desirous to save himself from death, or from a miserable life; and that which is not a sign of internal honor is no worship, and therefore no Idolatry. The sum is, that there is no wickedness (for there can be no greater wickedness then Idolatry) which a man may not commit to save his life, or to avoid pain: which is a Thesis in Mr. *Hobbes*'s Religion, suitable to the rest of his policy and piety, and might properly have bin controuled by his own love of Justice, of which he would be thought to be an Idolater, for he saies, (pag. 74.) *that which gives to human action the relish of justice, is a certain nobleness and gallantness of courage rarely found, by which a man scorns to be beholding for the contentment of his life to fraud, or breach of promise.* And sure he hath as great obligations to preserve him from Idolatry, and therefore I wish that to the great bulk of Scorn of which he is possess'd, he had that scorn likewise added, to be beholding to such an expedient for the preservation of his life.

That this doctrine of Mr. *Hobbes* is very pernicious, and destructive to the very essence of Religion, cannot be doubted by pious and religious men. But what kind of arguments to apply towards the information, or conversion of him, is very difficult to find. That which is got by reasoning from the autority of Books will work nothing upon him, (pag. 367.) *because it is not knowledg but faith.* So that the example of *Socrates*, who scorned to redeem his life by the least trespass against truth, or ingenuity; or the precepts, and judgments of *Seneca*, will be of no force with him, tho both great, and confessed Philosophers; what would

Seneca

Seneca have thought, or ſaid of any corrupt way for the prolongation of life, if he had known any thing of the obligations of Chriſtianity, when only upon the ſtrength of natural reaſon, he could ſo much undervalue it, *non eſt vita tanti ut ſudem, ut æſtuem. O quam contemta res eſt homo, niſi ſupra humana ſe erexerit?* What ſhall we ſay when a Heathen Philoſopher valued life, only as it was a way to ſomewhat more precious, tho he could not comprehend it, and when a Chriſtian Philoſopher, who pretends to have a full proſpect of all that is moſt precious, will redeem his life at the price of diſclaiming to have any ſhare in it? When Philoſophy diſſwaded men from an over affectation of death, that there might not be *ad moriendum inconſulta animi inclinatio*, but that they ſhould patiently attend natures pleaſure, and Chriſtianity ſhall be perſwaded, that it may prolong life is by the baſeſt ſubmiſſions, and by the moſt unworthy, and unrighteous condeſcentions? Mr. *Hobbes* is of the *Venetian* Curats mind, of whom Cardinal *Joyeuſe* makes mention in his Letters, when *Paul* the fifth had iſſued out his Interdict againſt the Republic, whereby any Prieſt who ſhould ſay Maſs, or perform any other part of his function, ſtood excommunicated: and the republic had publiſh'd an Edict, that the Magiſtrates upon any Prieſts refuſal to ſay Maſs, or to do any thing elſe that his duty obliged him to do, ſhould cauſe every ſuch Prieſt to be hanged. A Magiſtrate demanded of his Neighbour Curate, whether he would ſay Maſs; and he making ſome pauſe, the Magiſtrate told him, that if he refuſed he muſt preſently hang him. The Curate replied with more reſolution, that he had rather be excommunicated thirty years,

then

then hanged a quarter of an hour, and that Princes did at last make an end of all quarrels by Treaties of Peace, and then their Subjects on both sides had the benefit of the Articles, only he had heard that they who were hang'd had never the benefit of any Articles, therefore for his part he would say Mass. Yet it is probable the autority of the Republic would not have bin so absolute, if their injunction had bin to have committed Idolatry. Mr. *Hobbes* is not of *Seneca's* mind, who consulted nature as much as he, *Citius mori an tardius ad rem non pertinet, bene mori an male ad rem pertinet: bene autem mori est effugere male vivendi periculum.* But he is too much a Philosopher to be swaied by the dictates of other Philosophers. Let us resort therefore to the Scriptures, and put him in mind of the example of those three in *Daniel*, who chose to be thrown into the hot fiery furnace, rather then to fall down before the Image which *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up: or of *Daniel* himself, who would not only not pray to the King, but would not defer praying to God only for thirty daies, nor would be contented to pray to him in his heart, or in a private corner, which he might securely have don, but would be found upon his knees, when he knew the penalty was to be thrown into the Lions-den, as he was. And Mr. *Hobbes* will tell you that tho they did well, they might have don otherwise. Yet methinks he should not so easily evade all the denunciations made by the Prophets, of Gods judgments against *Israel* and *Judah* for their Idolatry, when they were only guilty of it, under the power, and by the command of their Idolatrous Kings. And yet that was no excuse for them: the judgments were pronounced against the people, and

they

they underwent the punishment. But he will say it was, because they had forsaken God in their hearts, and were as great Idolaters as their Kings. Yet still the fault was his, who took not care that they should be instructed in the true knowledg of God. But no objection out of the Scripture can weigh with him. Let us therefore resort to himself, and to his own reason to convert, or confute him. And he seems not so fully satisfied in this latitude which he hath given himself, as in other his bold assertions, but is more perplexed then he uses to be: To (*pag.* 360.) *worship God, not as inanimating or present in the place or image, but to the end to be put in mind of him, or of some works of his, if that place, or image be dedicated, or set up by private autority*, he saies *it is Idolatry, but if by the Soveraigns autority, it is not.* As if the autority of setting it up, could make that which in it self is Idolatry, to cease to be Idolatry. He doth acknowledg (pag. 361.) *that a scandalous worship of Images, tho it is but a seeming worship, and may sometimes be joined with an inward and hearty detestation of the image, and proceed only from the fear of death, or other grievous punishment, tho it be no Idolatry, is nevertheless a sin*, and if it be a sin, no man ought to commit it for the safety of his life, by all the precepts which Christ, and his Apostles have left to guide us towards the next world. But that confession keeps him not long in pain, *for it is a sin* he saies (pag. 362.) *only in men whose actions are looked at by others, as lights to guide them by, whereas the example of those we regard not, works not upon us at all. If a Pastor lawfully called to teach and direct others, or any other of whose knowledg there is a great opinion, do external honor to an Idol for fear, unless he make his fear and unwillingness to do it, as evident as*

his

his worship, he scandalizeth his brother by seeming to approve Idolatry; for his brother arguing from the action of his teacher, or of him whose knowledg he esteemeth great, concludes it to be lawful in it self. And this scandal, he saies, *is a sin, and a scandal given.* Yet in the page before he saies as positively, that (pag. 360.) *it cannot be said that he that do's it, scandalizeth, or layeth any stumbling block before his brother; because how wise, or learned soever he be that worshippeth in that manner, another man cannot from thence argue that he approveth it, but that he doth it for fear, and that it is not his act, but the act of his Soveraign.* So hard a thing is it after such an excess to make any approch to truth, without involving a mans self in contradictions.

He is very positive that (pag. 362.) *in a Pastor who hath undertaken to preach Christ to all Nations, by giveing such a worship to an image, it were not only a sinful scandal, but a perfidious forsaking his charge.* And truly this obligation upon the Pastor to suffer in such a case, is I think the only priviledg he grants him above other men: for we shall find hereafter, that he thinks himself qualified to preach as well as he. And that he may not be thought too indifferent in the matter it self, he doth confess, that (pag. 362.) *for an unlearned man, that is in the power of an Idolatrous King, or State, if commanded upon pain of death to worship before an Idol, he detesteth the Idol in his heart, he doth well, tho if he had the fortitude to suffer death rather then worship it, he should do better.* And it is observable, that tho he makes such a kind of worshipper the more or the less scandalous by his example, he doth not presume (tho he would be understood to do so) to absolve him from sin. For tho the

the notoriety, and example may be an aggravation of the ſin, yet it cannot make that a ſin, that was in it ſelf no ſin; nor can the ſecrecy of committing it, make that which in it ſelf is ſin, become no ſin. And therefore whether it amount to Idolatry or no, no terror of death ought to prevail over any Chriſtian to commit that ſin. Whether his Pedigree of Idolatry be well derived from the Gentiles, is not worth the inquiry, ſince he takes ſo little care for the ſhutting it out of the Chriſtian Church. For the Canonizing of Saints and the Popes aſſuming the title of *Pontifex maximus*, (the remembrance of which offices in the Roman State, might have put him in mind to have retracted what he ſaid before, of the admitting the exercise of all Religions in that Republic) and their abridging his univerſal juriſdiction, tho he gives him more then ever *Conſtantine* is ſuggeſted to have granted to him, and for the proceſſion of Images, and the original of Wax-candles, and Torches lighted, and the information he gives us of Holy-water, and ſome Proceſſions, I ſhall refer him to ſome of his friends of the Roman Church, who in truth are in too great an arrear to him, for which they make no excuſe that I have heard, but that they never think themſelves concern'd to write againſt a *Mahometan*.

The Survey of Chapter 46.

UPon his Forty sixth Chapter I shall not enlarge, but heartily wish that he himself had enlarged more upon it, as an argument wch he understands more then most that he hath handled: & yet I think he knows more of the Learning, then of the places where it is professed, otherwise he could not so much mistake the Universities, as to believe, that Philosophy hath no other place here, then as a Hand-maid to the Roman Religion. And whatever opinion he had when he wrote his *Leviathan*, I presume he finds by this time, that his beloved and justly esteemed Geometry, is studied and taught there by men who have convinced him of many Errors, and of not being enough conversant in that Science, insomuch as the Learned and Reverend Dr. *Ward*, the present Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, and Dr. *Wallis*, the Worthy Professor of Geometry in *Oxford*, have both produced a Person to him, whom he thought in the beginning of his *Leviathan* impossible to find, *(pag. 22.) who is so stupid, as both to mistake in Geometry, and also to persist in it, when another detects his error to him.* And for the Universities in general being the Hand-maids to the Roman Religion, over and above what hath bin truly said of our own Famous Universities, that they have bin in all times eminent Opposers of the Papal Power, and are at present the greatest Bullwarks Christendom hath against that Tyranny, and the

the propagation of the Roman Doctrine; I may justly say, that the other famous Universities of *Europe*, tho in Popish Countries, as the *Sorbone*, *Lovain*, and even *Salamanca* it self, have bin so far from advancing the most pernicious point of Popery, (I call it most pernicious, because it is most destructive to the peace of Christendom) the most Supreme and Universal Jurisdiction of the Pope, (which if rejected as it ought to be, there would quickly be as much unity of opinion amongst Christians, as Christianity it self requires) that they all contradicted it as long as their Civil Soveraign would permit. And as the *Sorbone* still continues its vigor, as enjoying a freer air; so the other two have not deserved, by any demonstration they have made, to be suspected to have degenerated from the spirit that possessed them in the Council of *Trent*, when the Pope was more afraid of their Bishops, then of the Cardinal of *Lorrain* himself, or of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. And truly, it might be wished, that in this Chapter, he had either forborn to have asked that question, (*pag.* 373.) *to what purpose such subtilety was in a discourse of that nature, where he pretends to nothing but what is necessary to the doctrine of Government and obedience*; or that he had given a clearer and more satisfactory answer, then by saying, that it is *to that purpose, that men may no longer suffer themselves to be abus'd by them, that by the doctrine of separated Essences, built on the vain Philosophy of* Aristotle, *would fright them from obeying the Laws of their Countries, as men fright Birds from the corn with an emty doublet, a hat, and a crooked stick.* It is not possible that Mr. *Hobbes* can believe that

many of those who are most guilty of disobeying the Laws, or have openly and rebelliously opposed the Soveraign power in his own Country, or in Foreign Kingdoms, have ever bin led into it by the *doctrine of separated Essences*, which very terms few of them have ever heard of. And if the Immortality of the Soul, which he thinks so great an absurdity, hath some dependance upon the opinion of separated Essences, it will still as little concern that Classis of Men, against whom he intends to inveigh, who rather believe they have no Souls at all, then that they are immortal, (the belief of which, would make them more consider what is like to become of them by their wicked and rebellious lives) to which they are most like to be induced by Mr. *Hobbes*'s Doctrine, that the Soul & Body die together, which would secure them from a world of troublesom apprehensions. He knew too well the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Pim*, and Mr. *Hambden*, who first promoted the Rebellion, and the Earl of *Essex* who conducted it, to suspect that they were corrupted to it by the Doctrine of separated Essences. And if *Cromwell*, and *Vane*, and *Ireton*, who carried it much farther then the others intended to do, and made it incapable of reconciliation, grew better inform'd of the mischiefs of that Doctrine, it was after the publication of the *Leviathan*; and yet they continued more of the opinion then most other men, in the literal sense, that Faith, and Wisdom, and other Vertues, were somtimes *pour'd into them*, and somtimes *blown into them from Heaven*, and yet were not more Rebels from that opinion then they were before: with which words Mr. *Hobbes* renews his mirth, more then he hath cause for, except it be for their sakes.

If he were constant to his own assertions, and did not think himself oblig'd to defend every new Definition he thinks fit to give (as in the beginning of this Chapter, he makes a very new Definition of Philosophy, never heard of before, nor applicable to any Philosophy but his own) a man might wonder that he should so categorically pronounce, that, (*pag.* 367.) that *Original knowledg, called Experience, in which consisteth Prudence, is no part of Philosophy, because it is not attain'd by reasoning, but found as well in brute beasts as in man, and is but a memory of successions of events in times past, wherein the omission of every little circumstance, altering the effect, frustrateth the expectation of the most prudent, whereas nothing is produced by reasoning aright, but general, eternal, and immutable truth.* How is this consistent with the Definition he formerly gave, (*pag.* 79.) that *Moral Philosophy is nothing else, but the science of what is good and evil, in the conversation and society of mankind?* for now he excludes all this from being any part of Philosophy. Which may make some men apt to believe, that he doth not reason aright in words he understands; for he saies, (*pag.* 367.) *that he who reasoneth aright in words he understandeth, can never conclude an error.* So that if we have discover'd any error throughout his Book (and we are monstrously in the fault, if we have not in such abundant choice) we may without presumtion conclude by his own rule, that either he hath not reasoned aright, or that he hath don it in words that he doth not understand. And he would have don well to have informed us, what those brute Beasts are in whom that original knowledg, called Experience, in which consisteth Prudence, is found, as well as in man. I shall not

labor.

labor to reconcile him to the Schole-men, with whoſe Learning I am not much in love, nor do believe that they have made any neceſſary or uſeful knowledg much more clear, or eaſie by their Definitions or Diſtinctions; and do often wiſh, that very many of them had bin bred Artificers, and Handy-craft-men, in which they would have don the world much more good, and Learning much leſs hurt. And as Canon and Gun-powder were firſt the Invention of a Monk, or a Friar, ſo I believe ſome of the Schole-men would have bin excellent Lock-ſmiths, or Ship-carpenters, and would have enriched the World with many uſeful Diſcoveries and Inventions. And more I ſhall not ſay to their Language, or to the errors of Tradition, or the other enormities of the Roman Church, which he takes alwaies in his way, let the ſubject of his Diſcourſe be what it will; and I wiſh they would be provoked by him to conſider and amend their faults.

Nor will I take any pains to diſſwade Mr. *Hobbes* from taking upon him to preach, but ſhall only put him in mind that if he doth, he thereby becomes a Paſtor, by which he will deprive himſelf of the liberty, by his own Doctrine, to deny our Saviour, or to worſhip an Image, upon what autority or command ſoever. And if he finds himſelf among the Idolaters of *America*, he will I doubt, as good a Chriſtian as he is, forbear to preach Jeſus Chriſt, when he remembers that he is without a Commiſſion, and what judgment he hath pronounced againſt the poor *Indian* that ſhall come into *England* to change the Religion that is here eſtabliſhed. But above all, whatever latitude his Civil Soveraign, at that time when his *Leviathan* was publiſhed,

lished, permitted for the performing those Functions, God be thanked, his present Civil Soveraign will not give him that liberty, until he receives orders from the Bishops; and it is probable they will not be forward to point him out by their hands, that he may be known to be qualified for that Office and Employment.

The

The Survey of Chapter 47.

IF Mr. *Hobbes* hath in this his laſt Chapter diſcover'd the true cauſes of that darkneſs, which hath hitherto hindred this new devouring light of his from breaking in upon us, we have more obligations to the Papiſts, and Presbyterians, then I knew we had: however, I ſhall not gratifie him, by undertaking to vindicate either of them from the reproches he charges them with; nor will I take upon me to reply to his ſly and bitter Inſinuations againſt the Clergy of all kinds, Proteſtants as well as Papiſts, in a thread that runs through his Book from one end to the other. They are of age, let them ſpeak for themſelves. Only I cannot but obſerve, and I ſhould be unexcuſable if I ſhould not, that after all his bitter and uncharitable Invectives againſt the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, and of which he would ſtill be thought a member, he hath not in this his laſt Chapter of *Cui bono*, bin able to faſten the leaſt reproch upon them, of being ſwaied by any other motives then the moſt abſtracted conſiderations of Conſcience, Duty, Gratitude, and Generoſity, conſtantly and ſtedfaſtly to adhere to the King: ſince they had in their view, before the Civil War was begun, all the prejudice to their perſons, and all the deſtruction to their Intereſt that fell out afterwards; and had their election, whether they would, beſides keeping what they were poſſeſſed of, receive greater additions and graces from

thoſe

thoſe who oppoſed the King, or by continuing faithful to Him, be diſpoſſeſſed of all they had, be caſt into Priſons (and new Priſons made for them in old Ships and Barques upon the Water) and with ſuch circumſtances of inhumanity, that put a ſhort end to the lives of many thouſands of them, their Wives and Children. And they choſe the latter, and to be expoſed to all the miſery and contemt imaginable, rather then to diſſemble or concele that Fidelity and Allegiance they ow'd to their King, in the higheſt of his Afflictions and Perſecution: and from the moment of his execrable Murder, continued the ſame Affection and Loialty to his Son, their preſent Soveraign, when the triumphant and victorious Faction made it penal to acknowledg Him, or to give Him the Title of King. And therefore it was below the education of Mr. *Hobbes*, and a very ungenerous and vile thing, to publiſh his *Leviathan* with ſo much malice and acrimony againſt the Church of *England*, when it was ſcarce ſtrugling in its own ruines; and againſt all the Biſhops and Clergy of the ſame, when many of them were weltering in their own blood upon Scaffolds, and the reſt reduced to all the miſeries human nature can be expoſed to, without any ſuggeſtion of a Crime, but of Fidelity to the King. When the Reverend Biſhops who were left alive, and out of Priſon, being ſtripped of all that was their own, preſerved themſelves from Famine, by ſtooping to the loweſt Offices of teaching Schole, and officiating in private Families for their Bread; which, together with the alms of thoſe charitable perſons who were themſelves undon, was all the portion that the poor Biſhops, and all the faithful Clergy of the Church of *England*, had to preſerve them-

ſelves in the low condition to which they were reduced. And it is but juſtice to the memory of thoſe Perſons, and for the everlaſting glory of that Church, to ſay, that the whole Orthodox Clergy were joint ſufferers with, and for the Crown; and that very few can be named, who were ever reputed or looked upon as Sons of the Church of *England*, that adhered to, or concurred with the Rebels. Some few impious Apoſtates in the beginning of the Rebellion became perjur'd, to ſatisfie their ambition by the countenance of the great Incendiaries, who paid them well for their labor. Afterwards, they made and ordained their own Clergy, and then undertook and performed the Funftion themſelves, their own Creatures finding them too wicked to be complied with; whil'ſt the true Clergy ſometimes loſt their lives upon Scaffolds, ſometimes on Gibbets for the greater diſgrace, to give teſtimony of their faſt and unſhaken Loialty to the King; and others died in Priſons, or lurked in obſcure, but ſafe and charitable Corners.

Theſe were the men who propagated Loialty and Allegiance with the utmoſt hazard of their lives, when it was near extirpation; countermined the ſtratagems which were every day ſet on foot, to corrupt the affections of thoſe who had paid dear for being good Subjects, and to make them weary of being ſo great loſers for conſcience ſake; when Mr. *Hobbes* his *Leviathan* abſolv'd all men from their Allegiance, and induſtriouſly perſwaded all ſorts of men, that *Cromwell* was their true and lawful Soveraign, and that it was folly and guilt, and inevitable deſerved ruin, not to adhere to him, and aſſiſt him againſt any oppoſition ſoever. Theſe are the

men

men who as diligently administred Antidotes against his Poison, prevented the operation of it in many, and the application of it to more; watched the tares which he, and others of his party scattered abroad, and pulled them up before they got strength to grow to do the mischief he intended: and tho they were all banished the Universities, and durst not be seen there, that his vile Principles, or as bad, might take root and flourish there; yet found means to preserve and purifie those Nurseries, and keep those Fountains clean, and so to cultivate Learning and good Manners there, that whil'st the chief Governors were placed there as *Olivers* Centinels, to keep the Protestant Religion from entring into his Disciples, to instruct those who were under his charge to be good subjects to him, that Seed brought up very little Fruit, but the Elements of Duty, and Allegiance to their absent, banished, lawful Soveraign, were sucked in greedily by them, and flourished accordingly. In a word, these were the men, who being look'd upon with esteem and reverence by all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, who retain'd their affection and duty towards the King entirely in their hearts, and thereby the opportunity to perform many notable Services to the King, and to give him useful Advertisements; and having unquestionedly done it in a treacherous and perfidious season, when Children betraied their Fathers, Servants their Masters, and Friends one another, were trusted by all men; and so having no farther care for themselves, then to live very meanly, they became Treasurers and Almoners for all indigent Gentlemen who had served the King, or desired so to do, and relieved very many of that kind, that they might be ready upon a

good opportunity to serve his Majesty, and not be forced to go to him, who had not wherewith to relieve them. They discharged the expense of many expresses, which were frequently sent to the King, and from him, which amounted to a great charge, and contributed much to the maintenance of those of the Clergy who faithfully attended his Majesties Person, and often transmitted such sums of mony to his Majesty himself, as were very seasonable supplies to him in great distresses. I can have no end, and have no temtation to say all this, but hold my self obliged to Justice and truth to give this testimony, since all the particulars are well known to me, having at that time the honor to be in some trust with his Majesty, and thereby the full knowledg of what then passed, of which there are not now many other witnesses amongst the living. And therefore I could not omit this proper season in the close of Mr. *Hobbes* his Book, throughout which he hath made so violent a War upon them without any colour of reason, to say, that he owes them many acknowledgments, but more to God almighty for the scandal he hath brought upon Religion, upon the best constituted Church of the World, and upon the most Learned Clergy of any Church, and the most irreconcilable to any thing that is erroneous, or offensive in the Roman Religion, which therefore looks upon them as the only considerable and formidable Enemy they have to encounter.

I shall not need to take any pains to remove him from the good opinion he had of Independency when he published his Book, because (pag. 385.) *it left every man to do what liked him both in Religion,*

as

as he saies, but in truth because *Cromwell* was then thought to be of that faction. But I dare say he did with his heart, as well as by his tongue, quit that party the very day that the King was proclaimed, as he is ready to quit all his other Opinions true or false, assoon as the Soveraign power shall please to require him; which makes whatever he saies, the less to need answering. And I shall be less solicitous to deprive the Pope of his new Kingdom of *Fairies*, with the title to which Mr. *Hobbes* hath gratified him, to allay that fear, and apprehension which he had endeavoured so much before to infuse into the minds of all Princes, of his dangerous greatness and power: if it at last prove no more then the King of *Fairies* hath, it is less terrible then he represented it to be. But since he hath not thought fit to retain that modesty which he professed to have, (pag. 141.) *that tho he had proved his Doctrine out of places of Scripture not few nor obscure, yet because it will appear to most men a novelty, he did but propound it, maintaining nothing in this, or any other Paradox of Religion, but attending the end of that dispute of the Sword, concerning the autority, (not yet amongst his Country men decided) by which all sorts of Doctrine are to be approved, or rejected, and whose commands both in speech and writing (whatsoever be the opinions of private men) must by all men, who mean to be protected by their Laws, be obeyed*, notwithstanding which reservation, and after he hath seen that dispute of the Sword concerning the autority amongst his Country men decided, after he hath seen that Prodigy of Mankind, whom he acknowledged to be his Soveraign, instituted and adored by him, exposed upon the

Gallows,

Gallows, and his Carcass placed upon the stage that is reserved for the most infamous Traitors and Rebels, and all his actions condemned and detested by the whole Nation (all which were govern'd, and steered exactly by Mr. *Hobbs* his own institution, and sufficiently shew how insecure they will prove to any man that observes them) and after he hath seen his true, and lawful Soveraign, his disavowed and renounced Soveraign, and whose subjects he had absolved from his obedience, restored, and established with the universal and unexpressible joy of his three Kingdoms, and thereby his whole Doctrine with reference to the Ecclesiastical as well as civil Government disavowed and condemned, and not exemplarily punished only by his Majesties gracious observation of the Act of Indemnity, of which few Subjects have more need; it is too malicious an obstinacy and perverseness in him, still to adhere to his odious Paradoxes, both in his Conversation and by private Transcripts, which he labours to get printed, and was never more solicitous to have his most destructive Doctrines to be published and confirmed by authority, (the ill consequence whereof to himself, he despises the learning of the Law too much, to understand.) And as he would allow no other right to the Subject in his Liberty or Property, but what the Soveraigns silence hath pretermitted in not taking it from him, as to dwell where he pleases, and educate his Children as he thinks fit, and the like: so he interprets the present silence of the Law, as an approbation of those his monstrous principles, which it knows not how to contradict; not considering the while that this silence of the Law cannot be broken, but in the lowd inflicting those se-

vere

vere punishments upon him, as without the shelter of that Soveraigns mercy whom he so much despised and provoked, would at once in his name discredit all his vain Philosophy, and more pernicious Theology; and he would find the Successors of Sr. *Edward Coke*, with whose great ignorance he makes himself so merry, learned enough to instruct him in the duty, and reverence, that is due from all Subjects to the Law, and Government.

And for the better manifestation of the premisses, having now walked to the end of his fourth part, before we take a view of his Review and Conclusion, we will observe the same method we did at the end of his two first parts, and according to the advice himself gives in his examination of *Bellarmines* Doctrine, lay open his conclusions, and Principles in Religion, which lie scatter'd through those other two parts, that men may take a view of the consequences, and bethink themselves, whether Christianity be advanc'd, and consequently whether the peace and happiness of mankind be provided for, and secured by such Doctrines.

1. *Those Books of Scripture only are Canonical, and ought to be looked upon as the word of God in every Nation, which are established for such by the Soveraign autority of each Nation.* pag. 199.

2. *None can know that the Scriptures are Gods word (tho all true Christians believe it) but*

they

they to whom God himself hath revealed it supernaturally. pag. 205.

3. *Men ought to consider, who hath next under God the autority of governing Christian men, and to observe for a rule, that Doctrine which he commandeth to be taught;* that is, all Subjects ought to profess that Religion which the Soveraign enjoines, whether he be Christian or Heathen. pag. 232.

4. *By the Kingdom of Heaven, is meant the Kingdom of the King that dwelleth in Heaven, and that the Kingdom of God is to be on Earth.* pag. 240, 241.

5. *The immortal life beginneth not in man till the Resurrection and day of Judgment, and hath for cause, not his specifical nature and generation, but promise.* pag. 241.

6. *Gods Enemies, and their torments after Judgment, appear by the Scripture to have their places upon Earth.* pag. 242. *The fire shall be unquenchable, and the torments everlasting after the Resurrection. But it cannot*

not therefore be inferr'd, that he who shall be cast into that fire, or be tormented with those torments, shall endure and resist them so, as to be eternally burned and tortured, and yet never be destroied, or die. pag. 245.

7. *There shall be a second death of every one that shall be condemn'd at the day of judgment, after which he shall die no more. The Scriptures affirm not, that there shall be an eternal life therein of any individual person, but to the contrary, an everlasting Death.* pag. 245.

8. *The Salvation we are to look for, is to be upon the Earth. For since Gods Throne is in Heaven, and the Earth is his Footstool, it is not for the dignity of so great a King, that his Subjects should have any place so high as his Throne, or higher then his Footstool.* pag. 247.

9. *If we be commanded by our lawful Prince to say we do not believe in Christ, we may obey such his command.* pag. 271.

10. *None can be Martyrs for Christ, but they that conversed with him on Earth,*

and saw him after he was risen; for a witness must have seen what he testifieth, or else his testimony is not good. pag. 272.

11. *None can be a Martyr who hath not a warrant to preach Christ come in the Flesh, and none but such who are sent to the conversion of Infidels.* pag. 273.

12. *To teach out of the old Testament that Jesus was Christ, and risen from the Dead, is not to say, that men are bound after they believe it, to obey those who tell them so against the Laws and commands of their Soveraigns, but they do wisely to expect the coming of Christ hereafter in patience, and faith, with obedience to their present Magistrates,* pag. 274.

13. *The autority of Earthly Soveraigns being not to be put down till the day of Judgment, it is manifest we do not in Baptism constitute over us another autority, by which our external actions are to be governed in this life.* pag. 274.

14. *They who received not the Doctrine*

of

of Christ did not sin therein. pag. 286.

15. *Christian Kings have power to Baptize, to Preach, to administer the Lords supper, and to Consecrate both Temples and Persons to Gods service, &c.* 297.

16. *No man shall live in torments everlastingly.* pag. 345.

17. *To pray voluntarily to the King for fair weather, or for any thing that God only can do for us, is divine worship, and Idolatry; but if a King compel a man to it by the terror of death, or other great corporal punishment, it is not Idolatry.* pag. 360.

18. *If one being no Pastor, or of eminent reputation for knowledg in Christian Doctrine, do external honor to an Idol for fear, and an other follow him, this is no scandal given, for he had no cause to follow such example.* pag. 362.

And now I hope he hath made an ample Paraphrase upon Religion, according to the definition he gave of it in the first entrance of his *Leviathan*, when he defines (*pag.* 26.) *Religion, to be fear of power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales*

publicly told; and when the ſeed he ſows for Religion to grow from, or to conſiſt in, *are opinion of ghoſts, ignorance of ſecond cauſes, devotion towards what men fear, and taking things caſual for Prognoſticks.*

These, amongſt others, are the Doctrines of Mr. *Hobbes* in his two laſt parts; which, I believe, in the judgment of moſt Chriſtians, are aſſoon renounc'd as pronounc'd, and which indeed need little other confutation then the reciting them; yet I doubt not, many men will ſay, how ſcandalous ſoever the aſſertions ſeem to be, (ſince he appeals to the Scripture, and cites ſeveral Texts out of the ſame, for the making good the worſt of his Opinions) it is pity that his ignorance, or perverſeneſs in thoſe Interpretations had not bin made appear, by manifeſting that thoſe places of Scripture could not admit that Interpretation, and what the genuine ſenſe thereof is. Which conſideration had bin more reaſonable and neceſſary, if theſe Errors had bin publiſh'd, and thoſe Gloſſes made and own'd by any National Church, or any Body of Learned men; but it may be thought too great a preſumtion for a private man, a ſtranger to Divinity, to take upon him to put unnatural Interpretations upon ſeveral Texts of Scripture, the better to apply them, and make them ſubſervient to his own corrupt purpoſes and opinions, contrary to the whole current of Scripture, and to the Doctrine thereof, and without the leaſt autority or ſhadow, that the like Interpretation was ever made before by any other man: I ſay, ſuch a perſon cannot reaſonably expect, that any body ſhould too ſeriouſly examine all his frivolous and light ſuggeſtions, and endeavor to vindicate thoſe Texts from ſuch impoſ-

ſible

ſible Interpretations. Yet if any man thinks it worth his pains, I am well content that he receive that honor, and will ſtill hope that Mr. *Hobbes* may be ſo well inſtructed in the true ſenſe and end of the Scripture, that he may better diſcern the eternity of the reward and puniſhment in the next World. And ſo we conclude our diſcourſe upon his Book, and examine what he ſaies in his Concluſion.

The Review and Concluſion, is only an abridgment and contracting the moſt contagious poiſon that runs through the Book, into a leſs veſſel or volume, leaſt they, who will not take the pains to read the Book, or reading it may by inadvertency and incogitancy not be hurt enough by it, may here in leſs room, and more nakedly, ſwallow his choiceſt Doctrine at one morſel: and is in truth, a ſly addreſs to *Cromwell*, that being then out of the Kingdom, and ſo being neither conquered nor his Subject, he might by his return ſubmit to his Government, and be bound to obey; it which, being uncompelled by any neceſſity or want, but having as much to ſuſtain him abroad as he had to live upon at home, could not proceed from a ſincere heart and uncorrupted. This Review and Concluſion he made ſhort enough, to hope that *Cromwell* himſelf might read it; where he ſhould not only receive the pawn of his new Subjects Allegiance, by his declaring his own obligation and obedience, but by publiſhing ſuch Doctrine, as being diligently infuſed by ſuch a Maſter in the myſtery of Government, might ſecure the People of the Kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquieſce and ſubmit to his Brutal Power. And in order to that, he takes upon him very poſitively to declare (which no man had

ever

ever preſumed to do before) the preciſe time when Subjects become obliged to ſubmit to the Conqueror; and ſaies, (*pag.* 390.) that time is, *as to an ordinary Subject, when the means of his life is within the guards and garriſons of the enemy; and for him who hath never obligations, he hath liberty to ſubmit to his new Maſter, when his old one can give him protection no longer.* And he is very careful that it may be the more taken notice of, to inſert in another Letter his Maxime, (*pag.* 390.) that *every man is bound by nature, as much as in him lies, to protect in War the authority by which he is himſelf protected in time of Peace.* All which he ſaies, appears by conſequence from thoſe Laws which he hath mentioned throughout his Book, (*pag.* 390.) *yet that the times require to have it inculcated and remembred*; which ſhall not oblige me to recapitulate what hath bin ſaid before upon the Propoſitions. And he is ſo fearful that *Cromwell* was not ſolicitous enough for his own ſecurity, that he tells him in his Review (which he had not before ſaid in his Book (*pag.* 392.) that *Conquerors muſt require not only a ſubmiſſion of mens actions to them for the future, but alſo an approbation of all their actions paſt.* Which advice he followed as far as he could, till he found it too unreaſonable to impoſe, even upon thoſe who had concurred with him in moſt of the miſchief that he had don. And leaſt he ſhould be too ſcrupulous and modeſt in uſing the power he had, and too apt to be amuſed with reproches, he ſaies, (*pag.* 392.) *the toleration of a profeſſed hatred of Tyranny, is a toleration of hatred to Commonweal h in general*; to the extravagancy of which Aſſertion, enough hath bin ſaid before. Theſe are the choice Flowers he hath bound up together in his Review, leaſt the odor of them might

might loſe ſome of its fragrancy in the bigneſs of the Book. And having with great tenderneſs provided, that no man ſhould think it lawful to kill him; and inſinuated as much, and with as much virulency as he could, a prejudice to the Roial party; he gives his own teſtimony of his whole Doctrine, and ſaies, (*pag.* 394.) the *Principles of it are true, and proper, and the ratiocination ſolid*; and therefore concludes, *that it might be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the Univerſities, &c.* and other Licence then his own it never had to be printed.

But Mr. *Hobbes* knows well, that a mans teſtimony in his own behalf, is not valid; and if mine could carry any autority with it, I would make no ſcruple to declare, that I never read any Book that contains in it ſo much Sedition, Treaſon, and Impiety as this *Leviathan*, and therefore that it is very unfit to be read, taught, or ſold, as diſſolving all the ligaments of Government, and undermining all principles of Religion. I do not wiſh that the Author ſhould be ordered to recant, becauſe he would be too ready to do it upon his declared *Salvo*: nor do I wiſh he ſhould undergo any other puniſhment, then by knowing that his Book is condemned by the Soveraign Autority, to be publickly burn'd, which by his own judgment will reſtrain him from publiſhing his pernicious Doctrine in his Diſcourſes, which have don more miſchief then his Book. And I would be very willing to preſerve the juſt teſtimony which he gives to the memory of *Sidny Godolphin*, who deſerved all the Eulogy that he gives him, and whoſe untimely loſs in the beginning of the War, was too lively an inſtance of the inequality of the contention, when ſuch ineſtimable Treaſure was ventur'd

tur'd againſt dirty people of no name, and whoſe irreparable loſs was lamented by all men living who pretended to Virtue, how much divided ſoever in the proſecution of that quarrel. But I find my ſelf temted to add, that of all men living, there were no two more unlike then Mr. *Godolphin* and Mr. *Hobbes*, in the modeſty of nature, or integrity of manners; and therefore it will be too reaſonably ſuſpected, that the freſhneſs of the Legacy rather put him in mind of that Noble Gentleman, to mention him in the fag end of his Book very unproperly, and in a huddle of many unjuſtifiable and wicked particulars, when he had more ſeaſonable occaſion to have remembred him in many parts of his Book. However, I cannot forbear to put him in mind, that I gave him, for an expiation of my own defects, and any treſpaſſes which I may have ſince committed againſt him, the Friendſhip of that great Perſon, and firſt informed him of that Legacy, which had not otherwiſe bin paid before the printing his Review. And for my own part, I ſhall conclude as I begun, with the profeſſion of ſo much eſteem of his parts, and reverence for his very vigorous age, (which in, and for it ſelf, is venerable) that in order to his converſion to be a good Subject, and a good Chriſtian, I could be well content, that as he ſeems to wiſh in his Commentary upon the Fourth Commandment, (*pag.* 178.) *as the Jews had every ſeventh day, in which the Law was read and expounded; ſo he thinks it neceſſary that ſome ſuch times be determined, wherein the people may aſſemble together, and (after Praiers and Praiſes given to God the Sovraign of Soveraigns) hear thoſe their duties told them,* which are preſcribed in this his

Levi-

Leviathan; and the positive Laws, such as generally concern them all, read and expounded, until he put in mind of the autority that maketh them Laws: so I say, I should not be displeased, if himself were allowed to make choice of his own Sabbaths, to read his Lectures in both Universities, and if he desired it afterwards, in the City, upon those *Theses*, which for his ease are faithfully collected in this answer out of his Book. And if this exercise doth not cure him, I could wish that the same application and remedy might be tried, by which the Emperor *Alexander Severus* cured the censoriousness and ambition of *Ovinius Camillus*, who was as old, and loved his ease as well as Mr. *Hobbes*; yet being not satisfied with the present conduct of affairs (and from thence became very popular) he had a purpose to make himself Emperor. Of which *Severus* being inform'd, and having receiv'd and examin'd the full truth of it, he sent for him, and gave him thanks, as *Ælius Spartianus* tells us, *Quod curam Reipub. quæ renuentibus bonis imponeretur, sponte reciperet*: and thereupon took him full of fear, and terrified with the Conscience of his own guilt, with him to the Senate, *participem Imperii appellavit, in Palatium recepit, & Ornamentis Imperialibus, & melioribus quam ipse utebatur, affecit*. Afterwards, when there was occasion of an Expedition against the *Barbarians*, he offered him, *vel ipsum si vellet ire, vel ut secum proficisceretur*; which he chusing, and *Severus* himself walking still on foot with his Colleague, who had accompanied him for many daies with intolerable fatigue, the Emperor caused a horse to be brought to him, upon which having rode some daies, as much tired as before, *carpento imposuit*. The conclusion was, he was so weary and ready to die un-

der the command, that *abdicavit Imperium*: and *Severus* after he had commended him to the Soldiers, *tutum ad villas suas ire præcepit, in quibus diu vixit.* I should be very glad that Mr. *Hobbes* might have a place in Parliament, and sit in Counsel, and be present in Courts of Justice, and other Tribunals; whereby it is probable he would find, that his solitary cogitation, how deep soever, and his too peremtory adhering to some Philosophical Notions, and even Rules of Geometry, had misled him in the investigation of Policy, and would rather retire to his quiet quarter in the *Peak*, without envy of those whom he left in employment, then keep them longer company in so toilsom, uneasie, and ungrateful Transactions. And possibly this might, and I doubt only could, prevail upon him, to make such recollection and acknowledgment of all the falshood, profaneness, impiety and blasphemy in his Book, as may remove all those rubs and disturbances, which he may justly apprehend, as well in the way to his last Journy, as at the end of it, if he be not terrified with that dismal Pronunciation, *If we sin willfully, after that we have received the knowledg of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.*

FINIS.

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
New York